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WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

A RAINBOW DREAM.

BY LUCY LARCOM.

In the fall of a summer shower
I was lulled to a lovely dream:
Drooped my lids 'neath the soft, oppressive power
Of the rainbow's gleam.

But they lifted again, to gaze
At a brighter, unfading bow,
That blandly smiled through a violet haze
On the flowers below.

And I saw, down its arching side,
Most airily, gaily, free,
Seven sylphs of the rainbow earthward glide;
And they flew to me.

"Come, be thou our rainbow queen!"
Dropped the accents like summer rain;
"Not a nobler realm than ours is seen
Upon land or main."

Then each threw a fetter of light
O'er my form, of a varying hue;
Up—up in their chains I was borne, in flight
Through the parting blue.

And with meshes of seven dyes
They wove me a robe of snow;
Like stars from a river, up shone their eyes
With a placid glow—

As they whispered, "Look, queen, below,
And rejoice to linger here;
For fairest to them that dwell in the bow
Is thy native sphere."

Then I gazed on the quiet earth,
Through the veil of the rainbow's sheen,
And proud was I of my mortal birth,
Though an airy queen.

Oh, fresh through the nether air
Rose the world, a globe of light;
And every form that was walking there
Seemed an angel bright.

Earth looked glad as the clouds at morn;
Not a hue of gloom it wore:
Paused the rain; I awoke; the sylphs were gone;
I was queen no more.

Yet now, when the days seem dull,
I turn and dream o'er my dream;
And for me the sylphs of the rainbow cull
Joys of every beam.

Then life wears an Eden glow,
Reillumed with its primal light;
Oh, who would not soar to the magic bow,
And refresh his sight?

Light heart, with the rainbow eye,
There's beauty for thee in all!
They are lovers of darkness who ever lie
'Neath dejection's pall.

For the National Era.

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GREENWOOD LEAVES FROM OVER THE SEA.

No. 31.

Rome, *February* 13, 1853.

My Dear A. C. L——: On one of the Carnival nights we attended, at the old Braschi Palace, a large charity ball, under the patronage of the Princess Doria. There was an immense assemblage of Italians, French, English, and Americans; but as there was a large suite of apartments thrown open, and the ball-room was lofty and spacious, we were not rendered uncomfortable by the crowd.

The staircase of this palace, which is very fine, with the entrance hall above, were lined with shrubs and flowers and wreathed vines, producing a charming effect.

We arrived about 10 o'clock, and found the rooms well filled. Strolling through them, one after another, I came to the conclusion that this hall was conducted on a far more pleasant and sensible plan than any I have attended in America. In one apartment a large table was set out, where refreshments of all kinds were served throughout the evening, instead of one grand supper, as with us, with its uncomfortable crowding and ferocious pushing and snatching. In other *salons*, removed as far as possible from the stirring music and the musical footfalls of the ball-room, gathered those who, from disinclination or disability, eschewed the dance—dowagers and staid-looking elderly gentlemen, consoling themselves over whist and *écarté*, or chatting in corners, or strolling up and down, with a free, careless, enjoyable, at-home manner, most pleasantly peculiar. There were there and in the ball-room, not alone scores of young ladies with their mammas and papas, but mere children, and venerable people who might years ago have arrived at the dignified estate of grandpapas and grandmammas. I like this pleasant, social mingling of youth and age—it gives a solidity to society, and a noble dignity to pleasure; and I hope that a custom so just and beautiful may become more generally adopted in our own country, where the young are too much disposed to thrust not alone the old but the middle-aged to the wall; where dashing youths hardly out of college, and beautiful girls who have just broken boarding-school, too often lord it and queen it over society with an absolute and insolent power. I also noticed several whom I took to be clergymen, and this I liked. With us, where never a member of any religious organization may move to music without a fearful looking-for of church-discipline and clerical indignation—where clergymen are hedged round with an awful aspect, which must become in time excessively uncomfortable—the sight of one, at even a small dancing party, would be a startling apparition. Indeed, with us, the members of that venerable body are felt to be more or less *detrop* at all large gatherings, except it be baptisms or burials, weddings or hangings. Would it not be infinitely better if they mingled more socially and familiarly with the people, in their every-day feelings and occupations, interest and pleasures? But to return.

The ball-room presented a most brilliant appearance, and contained many people of high rank, of various nations, though principally Roman. The Princess Doria, being in mourning for her father, the late Earl of Shrewsbury, was not present; but there were pointed out to me the Princess Spada, a handsome, stout, and stylish dame, of thirty and upwards; a daughter of the present Prince of Canino, a plump, pretty girl, of a striking Bonapartean face; the youthful Princess Piombino, beautiful but pallid, and slight to fragility, in whom I was interested by being told that this romantic and un-Roman thinness resulted from an unhappy and hopeless attachment. So these noble ladies have hearts, after all—hearts that sometimes break, I should say, after watching the forced smile and languid movements of this Princess, passion-pale. The King of Bavaria was present, in the character of a private gentleman. He is a man of about thirty-five, I should say—tall, slender, rather good-looking, but seems stiff and formal in his manner. He danced the quadrille, hat in hand, coldly and mechanically. The Prince Musignano, eldest son of Canino, was also present. He has a face slightly Napoleonic, but rather on the gross order, and, though not yet thirty, is as stout as was his grand-uncle when in his last estate he grew in corporal as he decreased in imperial greatness, and increased in good condition in spite of English insults, petty persecutions, and Lowe diet—most illustrious example of the truth of the Falstaffian theory, "A plague on sighing and grief," &c., &c.

This young Prince has particularly small feet, which I suspect are a weakness and a dandyism with him, though it is questionable whether he ever sees them now-a-days, and he rolls a little in his gait. His highness seems especially fond of dancing, and carries into it nearly as much spirit as body. To encounter him and the Princess Spada in the waltz is really no trifling matter. With a medium-sized partner, you are like an inconsiderable fishing-smack under the bows of a merchantman—run down in a moment, while the gigantic craft drives majestically on, with scarce a dipping of the spars, scarce a flutter among the rigging.

Nearly all the foreign Ministers were there, among whom the Austrian struck me as carrying the ablest and ugliest face. There were some young scions of English aristocracy present—gay, fast fellows, with long, light curls and carelessly-tied cravats, and handsome, healthful, laughing, audacious faces; and sedate, reserved young men, with a proper and patrician sense of their position, individually and nationally, with their hair parted sleekly down behind, and their heads pivoting painfully in stiff white neckcloths. There was Sir Walter—What-do-you-call-him, and the Hon. Mr.—I've-forgotten, and the Marquis—I-never-knew, and Baron Blank, and Lord Nozoo. And there were several English ladyships, very fair and very cold, with very highly-dressed hair and low-dressed shoulders, with *prononcés* noses and retreating chins—a proud, stately, and high-bred beauty, far as the North pole from the glowing, passionate, and darkly-splendid beauty of the Roman ladies of high rank.

As for the Italians, Germans, and French, there were none without their titles. The Countesses were countless—a Marquis was a personage of little mark, and a Count of comparatively no account. I should have hesitated, I believe, about accepting one as a partner, had one offered his hand for waltz or cotillion, thinking that for the honor of my country I should reserve myself for a crowned head, or at least for a *Principe*.

Of the Americans present, there were some whose mien, manner, conversation, and principles, would do honor to our country, or any country, anywhere; but there were also others of another stamp. Merchants, retired from business with handsome fortunes, but having left their hearts in their counting-houses, and with souls yet undivorced from their legers—now making the grand tour, with their portly wives and pretty daughters and promising sons. There are men who have come abroad from a sense of fashionable duty, and with a vague expectation of enjoyment; they go about sight-seeing with commendable industry, making meritorious efforts at admiring and comprehending, and even attaining to something like enthusiasm at times; but really enduring it all with the resignation of martyrs. These are usually what the Methodists call "anxious inquirers" in regard to art, and are too often the victims of dealers in old paintings and third-rate statuary; they are generally better judges of canvas-back ducks than of canvas darkly daubed—of old wines than of the old masters—and, turning from stocks to stones, find their Wall-street shrewdness at fault. Highly-dressed matrons, who cluster together and grow dolorously eloquent on the discomforts and disgusts of travel, the filth of Italian inns, the extortions of *vetturini*, and the perils and perplexities of the *Dogana*. Young ladies who grow warm on sunsets, expand on the Campagna, and are at home among the ruins—who are subject to unconscious little lapses into the Italian, in the midst of a conversation in English—who confess to an indulgence in the *dolci far nienté*, and a leaning toward Romanism, with a growing attachment for that "darling old Pope." Young men scarcely out of long hair and into moustaches, who yet consider themselves booked up on all questions of European politics—incline to the conservative side, confess to aristocratic sympathies, and pronounce their titled acquaintances "deuced fine fellows."

In the early part of the night, dancing, and especially waltzing, was but an example of "the pursuit of pleasure under difficulties;" but at the latter part, when the great crowd was thinned off, it became far more agreeable. At last, at about half-past two, after the cotillion, a long, somewhat intricate, and very beautiful dance, the ball closed.

I met on this night a son of Mrs. Homans. He resembles somewhat the portraits of the poetess—has, I should say, her eyes and hair. He is a peculiarly mild and pensive young man, whom you might almost believe had been reared on his mother's melancholy melodies. Mr. Hemans is a devout Roman Catholic. Think of the son of the author of "*The Forest Sanctuary*" as a Papist!

By the way, as Miss C. and Miss H. came in from riding, a short time ago, they spoke of having met the Pope on the Porta Angelica road, and of having dismounted before he passed.

"What, you pay such homage to the Pope!" I exclaimed.

"Why not?" said Miss H. "The worthy old gentleman was on foot, and all the Catholics in his way were on their knees; the guard would have commanded us to dismount, if we had not done so of our own accord."

"I would have turned and galloped back, or leaped the hedge and taken across the fields, or sat upright in my saddle till the guardsmen pulled me off!—anything to save my pride and principles as a Republican and a Protestant."

This I said walking the room, setting my foot down each time emphatically and anti-Papally.

A few days after this, as I was riding with Miss C. on this same road, we saw the Pope approaching. He was walking in front of his carriage, dressed in white, with a red hat and red shoes, preceded by mounted guards, accompanied by several Cardinals, and followed by officers of his household and carriages. We were near an open space, and drew a little off from the road, but still in full sight of the procession. One of the *Guardia Nobile* rode slowly by, giving us as he passed a look of pious anger and rebuke, as much as to say, "Frail vessels of heresy, will ye then brave the Holy See itself?" Now, if a bluff Swiss Guardsman had rudely ordered me to dismount, I should have sat firm in my saddle and my sentiments, and looked at my persecutor with much the feeling expressed by the spirited Mrs. Squeers, "I pities your ignorance and dispises you." But to be looked at with such silent severity—to be thought wanting in manners and religion by a noble young Roman, was, I must confess, quite another thing. I immediately remarked that I thought a change of position would do me good after so long a ride, and that I really wished to get a nearer view of the Pope. So we dismounted, and giving our horses to the groom, approached to the edge of the bank, over the road, where we should have had a very near look at his Holiness, and received the full force of the Papal benediction. But, when only within some twenty yards of us, the provoking *Papa* paused, turned, remounted into his carriage, and drove back toward the Vatican. The quizzical look of the noble guardsman as he repassed us, and the laugh raised against me at dinner, are two things which I shall not soon forget.

On one of the festas during the Carnival, we, forming a large party in the carriage and on horseback, went to Veii, about twelve miles from Rome, where we spent the day. There are but the merest ruins of that ancient Etruscan stronghold, which—it makes one's brain reel to think of it!—was a large and powerful city when Rome was founded. Now, there is not a tower or a wall standing entire, and it is with difficulty that you trace boundaries of the town, and find the few remains of its gateways and bridges. The site is romantic and imposing, and the surrounding scenery wild and picturesque in the highest degree. The only tolerably-preserved ruins are the tombs, curiously and crudely painted on the inside, and containing many interesting Etruscan remains—vases, plates, shields, helmets, rusty old swords and spear-points.

The day was bright and balmy, and we took a pic-nic dinner on the soft green turf, with the wild shrubs budding around us, and the early crocuses blossoming at our feet. We were within the sound of an old fountain and the flowing of the Cremera, and the dashing of its waterfalls. Picturesque, skin-clad shepherds were watching their flocks on the hills behind us, looking down curiously and sympathetically on our merry circle. One of their huge wolfish dogs, doubtless considering us rude barbarian invaders of those classic Arcadian scenes, showed fight; but I insidiously seduced his ferocious fidelity by a crust of bread, and concluded an amnesty with a chicken-leg. After dinner, however, as I was boasting of my peaceful conquest, I ventured to approach my lean and hungry friend empty-handed, when he turned, and would have rent me had I not beat a hasty retreat. Among the most cruel, suspicious, and formidable-looking animals I have ever seen, are these same Campagna dogs. Heaven save me from an encounter with one, alone and undefended.

We have had, for the three weeks past, strange and terrible weather—violent and frequent storms of wind, rain, and hail, between which the sun shines out with dazzling and tantalizing brilliance. In these brief intervals of light and warmth, we venture on our walks, rides, or drives, but are almost sure to have a heavy storm burst upon us, out of the gorgeous and treacherous heavens, with frightful suddenness. Yesterday we went to the Pincio, to see the sunset, which promised to be very fine; but while we were admiring the purple and gold, and deep, delicious blue of one half of the sky, the other, with scarce a moment's warning, seemed to fall upon us in alternate sheets of rain and hail. The Tiber is in the state described by Cassius, when Cæsar and he leaped into it—"troubled," and "chafing with her banks"—swollen, and swift, and dark. The Campagna is overflowed all along its course, and the poor peasants in great distress, from being deprived of work, and in some instances of homes. Some countrymen attacked our baker this morning, and took from him all the bread he was carrying to his customers. The robbery was committed in the open street; but as it was a case of starvation, the thieves were not apprehended. The floor of the Pantheon is overflowed, and it is a curious sight to see the bases of its ancient pillars buried in the yellow flood.

In this state of the weather it is impossible to do any even in-door sight-seeing, as the churches, galleries, and palaces, are dark, damp, and uncomfortable. But this is a Roman winter, and it will soon be past; in a few days, perhaps, we shall have the delightful Italian spring, which the lovely almond-blossoms are already heralding.

As ever, yours, Grace Greenwood.

For the National Era.

LETTERS ON FRANCE.—NO. 2.

Washington, D. C., *Jan.*, 1852.

My Dear Madam: I have endeavored to show, in the preceding letter, that no particular nation is to blame for loving liberty; nor, strictly speaking, ought we very exultingly to praise them on all occasions, when, thanks to providential circumstances, they have been permitted to gain it.

Unquestionably there are connected with each country particular causes governing and influencing events, quite as much as general rules acting upon them all. But it will be found, on minute examination, that among the people of Europe there is a wonderful similitude of revolutionary fortune, for the reason that the races are identical, and the basis of the social system to be overthrown, identical. Nevertheless, the success of revolution is remarkably precarious, vacillating, uncertain, and partial, and modified by accidents of religion, politics, and physical nature.

Before proceeding to an examination of the state of France in particular, it would be well to say a few words on the progress of revolutionary ideas in Europe; for in so doing, we shall better comprehend the subject.

The liberty of the Roman had been supplanted by the feudalism of the Barbarian. And although the civilized man unquestionably trod out the wild man in course of time, the dominion of the latter was sufficiently long to change not merely the ancient institutions, but to corrupt the very language of polished society, and give even new names to things, and to that portion of the population which became enslaved.*

In course of time, kings attempted to destroy the power of the petty sovereigns or feudal lords, and, the more effectually to accomplish their design, conspired with the people, granting liberties and privileges to them.

In the mean time, Italy stood forth the stronghold of Republics and of popular liberty—resisting with energy the assaults of feudalism; yet, though sinking gradually under the effects of treachery at home, she expired only in giving birth to Liberty abroad!

For centuries, all the learned of Europe flocked to her colleges and universities for instruction or honors. To visit Italy was then, as now, the pilgrimage of admiration of men of all conditions. She was then, not only the centre of knowledge, of the arts, and of the sciences, but the only really commercial and industrial country.

Can one suppose, for a moment, that her example and *passionate love of popular liberty* was lost upon the world; or that even the very soldiers called in to fight against her, or employed in her service, (the prosperous and intelligent Italian despising the low occupation of the hired soldier,) returned to their homes less enlightened as to their rights as men.†

Switzerland, lying on her frontier, followed her example and became free; men began to think, and speak, and write. Religious matters, freely canvassed in Italy, became the subject of debate elsewhere, in spite of priests and nobles; and then commenced those demands for reforms in the church and for municipal liberties, and then were made those *protestations* in favor of human freedom, which have agitated Europe—religious, political, and social—ever since.

Italy, crushed under the heel of feudal Europe, is now despised by all who only see and know her misery. They will not believe that generations of men pass away, and yet that the thoughts and aspirations and glories of the past are unerringly handed down, to burst forth again in the good time coming! Yet so it is; and therefore it is, that though centuries pass on, there is still the same undying host of patriots to be found ready at any moment for the conflict. But in the triumph of kings over feudal lords, the liberty of man has been again menaced. The independence of many cities has been destroyed, municipal liberties have been restricted, and a military and police system have been organized, which threaten to re-enslave the people by the people!

Against this new danger to human progress, nothing remains but the press, the steam engine, and the spread of knowledge—softening the moral character, and ameliorating the material condition of society. Against these, tyranny has little chance; for even despots are fascinated by the marvels of modern times, and are influenced in their feelings and opinions by the higher-toned character of modern works and newspapers.

If we compare for a moment the highly-educated, moral, and liberally-disposed princes of the present time, with the ignorant, profligate monsters, both male and female, of a time not long past, we may without difficulty calculate the future.

But all men are brought up to fancy they have rights; and they have rights, no doubt, whatever they may be. In defence of these they struggle; and in these menacing times, tyrants combine to enforce their own, with all the vigor they believe them entitled to.

To comprehend the events which have succeeded the Revolution of 1848, it is necessary to take a view of events which preceded and occasioned that event.

The great Revolution of 1789 overthrew everything, and changed everything. That convulsion was brought about, not by a movement of the people alone, but in consequence of a change in the opinions of the educated classes, which had grown up from causes already partly indicated. That change of opinion—that vague sentiment of a better order of things—that protestation against the errors, social, political, and religious, of the time, weakened the energies of the throne and its advisers.

Parties destroyed, and reconstructed after the most approved democratic fashion; but to govern morally was not their forte. They attacked each other in their patriotic selfishness, and ended, as they deserved, by finding a master—another Cromwell.

Towards 1830, a further step had been made in public opinion, and an attempt to return to the errors of the old time united all classes again against the throne. Lafayette put Louis Philippe forward in time to prevent the people, and its real and questionable friends, from seizing the Government.

A middle-class power, like that of England, had grown out of revolution, and now, with the bayonets of the National Guards in its hands, formed a protection to the throne against the encroachments of the noblesse on the one hand, and that of the populace on the other.

A "Government of Order" was formed, based on Liberty, and giving scope to intellectual, moral, and industrial progress. It is only necessary to refer to the official reports, to be able to form an idea of the rapid material prosperity France was making. It was one of no common kind. The epithet of "shop-keeper" was never more applicable to a nation than to "la belle France." Manufactures were springing up everywhere; and even Paris, the gay and splendid capital of fashion, was rivaling Manchester in the multiplicity of those indexes of manufacturing progress, the giant chimneys of industry.

France was contented. The people, who in 1830 was beginning to recover from the disasters of war, and among whom for some years a vast multitude of idlers and vagabonds, bred in camps, was to be found, now had commenced a new career of industry and peacefulness.

Among a vast population there will at all times be troublesome spirits, whose exuberant and ill-directed energies will find vent in rowdyism; but when the Government makes itself odious by obnoxious and unjust measures, these wild spirits become hot-headed politicians and conspirators.

Such an imprudent course did the Government of July follow, and such bold infringements did it make from time to time on the acquired liberties of Frenchmen, and so systematically did it refuse to fulfil its promises to introduce a reform of the electoral suffrage, the mortgage system, taxation, &c., that many men of the highest character became hostile to it, and implicated in (*so called*) "plots" to overthrow it.

The alarm became very general, and several serious outbreaks were the result. These the Government quelled, after some fighting; for the middle class, and the great body of the working class, though discontented with the King's game, were earnest for peace at almost any price. Of the real *émeutes* (political riots) in Paris, there were but few between 1830 and 1848. Of *émeutes got up by the police for political purposes*, there were a good many.

When the hitherto obsequious Chamber showed decided disinclination to pass the laws of September, to gag the Press, an *émeute* was got up at the Bastile, among the workmen of the quarter, who had turned out to eat the dinners brought by their wives and children, on the open "Place." Police in disguise ran in among them, insulted some, excited others; the military were called out, and many persons were killed. These tricks were the talk of Paris a dozen times over.

The Government papers announced a "movement;" the ministers proclaimed it in the Chamber, and attributed it to the press, and the laws were passed before the members well knew the trick. The King understood the temper of the people, and that a revolution was improbable with the sentiments of the time.

But—and here is the danger of success—the King and Government went too far; they had become over-confident.

A middle-class aristocracy of money had sprung up, which, forgetting its ancient prudence and liberality, aspired not only to rival the ancient noblesse, but to perpetuate their rank and wealth by a revival of the old laws and privileges; while the King, on his part, was studying to imitate Louis XIV, or to govern like Napoleon!

The year 1847 had arrived. The moneyed portion of the middle class was aiming at nobility. Many of the old aristocracy, despairing after seventeen years of the elder branch, and pleased with the really absolute rule of Louis Philippe, presented themselves at the Tuileries. The Government was powerful in half a million of officials, an army nearly as numerous, and a political police as lynx-eyed as unscrupulous. The Chamber of Deputies was the mere tool of the Government, which had influence sufficient to gain over nearly the whole electoral body of about 200,000 voters. The Chamber of Peers, made up by the King's choice, was necessarily even more sycophant.

Fortune making, and a peerage in the end, were the grand aims of all those within the range of opportunity. The King and his sister were among the most ardent in amassing wealth. The example had its effect, and soon corruption and swindling showed itself on 'Change, in railroad schemes, lotteries for *charitable* (!) purposes, gamblings in the funds, the telegraph (a Government monopoly in France) aiding. At length, a scarcity of the grain crops occurred; and immediately the royal and other favored speculators bought up the imported supplies, and concealed them, producing a vast amount of distress among the working classes. The price of bread in Paris doubled, and the indignant city authorities were *forced* by the Government to advance money to supply such of the poor and working class as were much distressed, at the old prices.

This nefarious business, together with the railway mania, in which so many industrious persons lost their savings of years, created a general indignation.

The project of reviving the hereditary peerage, and endowing it with extensive property as well as privileges, together with the general tendency of the Government to return to the errors, to overthrow which so much blood had been shed, created uneasiness among all sections of the middle class. The very officials of the Government felt themselves aggrieved and menaced; while many even of the aristocracy had become so reconciled and wedded to the liberalism of the time, as to express openly their disapprobation at these dangerous projects.

In the mean time the people really looked on with a sort of indifference, feeling confident that if a struggle should take place between the ambition of the Government party and the good sense of the other parties, it could not fail to be called in as usual, and must inevitably gain by the confusion.

For the first time, then, since the establishment of the Government of July, 1830, an opposition throughout the whole country was got up, and carried on systematically and legally, in defiance of all the efforts, persuasions, and menaces of power. The object for which it agitated was a reform of the Chamber of Deputies, which had shown itself to be incapable of protecting the rights of the nation. Revolution it never dreamt of. It consisted almost solely of the middle, wealthy, and titled classes, who had everything to dread by violent change; and these were impelled to adopt that course, because their own independence and power were menaced by the reckless and corrupt conduct of the King and his Government.

It was not difficult to see that an opposition, springing from the classes which have influence over the people, forced upon them by necessity, and carried on with resolution and enthusiasm, could not fail to succeed in producing a change of ministry, or a collision. On the other hand, it was clear that the King, who had become intensely self-willed, and confident in his immense power, would never yield to any movement—he, like most other men, fancying revolutions proceeded from the lower classes; and he knew that, seconded by the middle classes, he was a match for them; while it was equally clear that the Ministers, who in state affairs were now only his clerks, and who represented the claims of the moneyed aristocracy, would hardly yield to an agitation in which the people showed no tumultuous interest. They wielded a power so immense, and so intoxicating, that no Government, however liberal, could feel its dangerous fascinations, without abusing it.

Reform banquets were the order of the day. And, quite naturally, the Departments having testified their approbation of them, the Reformers in Paris, under the very eye of the Government, resolved to give one on a grand scale. Here the authorities unwisely interposed, and the vials of wrath were speedily poured out by the indignant Reformers. Reform was impossible—revolution was inevitable. And yet the almost unanimous voice of the nation was for peace. In every man's mouth was the observation—"The old man cannot live long; better wait; a reform of the Chamber must then take place."

In short, madam, as you well know, a revolution was so little desired, that it took *every one by surprise*. The people were astounded at their unexpected success. And well they might be. But why they succeeded, I will relate hereafter.

The reformers determined to make a manifestation against the Government. They knew, as every one knew, that the sympathies of people of all ranks, even to the authorities and officials, were with them. Clubs, secret societies, there were; but undecided, expecting nothing for their ultra views, and undetermined. The people turned out in masses to express their sympathies for reform, and impress their wishes on the Government; but its members were obstinate, like their Chief, and confident in their strength.

The manifestation did not pass off rapidly. It continued to show itself firm, yet peaceful, until a discharge of fire-arms, from near an obnoxious minister's house, excited the people to fury.

One of the striking results of the revolutionary struggles of France, and the suffering consequent thereupon, has been a feeling of sympathy for the masses. This tendency to fraternization showed itself in more remarkable colors than at any former period of human history. The old antagonism between men and classes was revived with much bitterness subsequently, envenomed by the distresses and necessities for existence. But our place here is to notice the progress of human ideas and sentiments, when they display themselves at their opportunity.

Thus the indignation of the people at the massacre at the Boulevard des Capucins was participated in by the military, the National Guards, and the middle classes. Troops were marched on various points to disperse the people; but the appearance of a small body of National Guards was sufficient *excuse* for the military to retire. No one wished to act, and the majority did not act. There was a tacit understanding to let matters take their course. The intelligent classes were weary of Louis Philippism, and were determined on a change of Government.

What the French wanted was to be let alone. They had got an idea into their heads, that with a fair constitutional Government, they would advance, like the English, from reform to reform. They had already gained immensely, and were content to perfect their liberties by sure and steady steps. But the King was not satisfied with being the popular chief; he wanted to rule after the old fashion. Instead of being the instrument for the practical Government of the country, according to the enlightened views of the time, the phantasms of ambition seized his mind, and, urged by the misrepresentations of foreign and domestic absolutists, and pressed by a vague fear of some eventual revolution, which in some indefinite time *might* drive his family from the throne, he threw himself headlong on the ground before the mighty wheels of Progress, crushing himself and dynasty at once, while fancying they would stop and respect him!

The King had, many years before, taken the most effectual measures for suppressing any popular demonstrations. Paris was covered by military posts and barracks, protected against sudden attack, and so connected as easily to stop communication between various sections of the city. All these precautionary measures were unavailing. The King had forgotten that, while favoring his own limited number of friends and partisans, the encroachments of his power and of their ambition were alarming and disaffecting even the hundreds of thousands of officials and their numerous connections. He had vastly increased the number of office-holdings, dividing and diminishing the salaries. But this petty bribery, and increase of power consequent upon it, could not counterbalance the dangers menacing the institutions and interests of the middle classes. Hence, when fidelity to the throne was most required, there were none to be found. Without conspiracy, or plot, or devising a scheme, but, by a tacit understanding, and a shrug of the shoulders, the Government fell to pieces, by the inaction, or wrong action, errors, orders and counter-orders, of those whose duties were as clear as daylight!

Could the result of this conduct have been foreseen, it cannot be doubted but, sooner than jeopardize their position, and the peace and welfare of their families, office-holders would have hesitated to have so acted.

But unexpectedly, yet naturally, under such peculiar circumstances, the armed force was broken up in the confusion and enthusiasm of so great an event, and the police force annihilated wherever it offered resistance. In an instant, Paris, with all its wealth, in the midst of its gaieties, and crowded with foreigners, found itself in the hands of the mere populace, and the Government entirely at its discretion! Yet as much order was maintained, and a *great deal less crime* committed, during the first three months of this popular Government, than at any former period. Of enthusiasm and noise there was over much; but the *working classes* resolutely punished any and every act of robbery or violence.

A revolution accomplished, the press free, every man at liberty to trade for himself, the duties upon imports into the city done away with, there was every prospect of improvement and prosperity. Industry began to find its level—newspapers increased—the markets were more fully stocked and cheapened—trades, hitherto limited by law, were open to all, and personal liberty was guarantied. But when the classes who had caused the revolution began to reflect on the possible consequences to themselves, they banded together, to divide and destroy the new-born Republic.

* Surnames were of more recent origin. The barbarian chiefs gave the simple names of John, William, &c., to the enslaved Romans.

† The Italians regarded these foreign soldiers as cowards, so frequently did they show themselves to be such. It is easy to perceive that the boastings of these men, on returning home, would not be much in favor of their employers, and that their falsehoods would gain ready credence. Whenever Italian soldiers were formed, "the foreign troops," says Machiavelli, "fell into disrepute," before the valor and discipline of the more intelligent and sturdy Italians. It was about the year 1400 that such native troops were first formed.

CURRENCY DEBASEMENT.

The New Silver Coin.—The weight of the new silver coinage authorized by the recent act of Congress, which goes into operation in June next, as compared with that coinage since the passage of the act upon the same subject in 1837, is as follows:

Silver.	*Act of* 1837.	*Act of* 1853.
Dollar - - - - - - -	412½ grains	No change.
Half-Dollar - - - - -	206¼ "	192 grains.
Quarter-Dollar - - - -	103⅛ "	96 "
Dime - - - - - - -	41¼ "	38.4 "
Half-Dime - - - - -	20⅝ "	19.2 "

The bill for the coinage of small silver coin of a reduced rate has been approved by the President. It goes into operation on the first of June next.

For the National Era.

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MARK SUTHERLAND:

OR,

POWER AND PRINCIPLE.

BY EMMA D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH.

CHAP. VII—*Continued.*

There is something awful in the just anger of a noble-minded, pure-hearted, high-spirited man; and thrice awful is it to the woman who loves him, when that righteous anger falls upon herself.

India received *this* letter, and as she read it, bitter and scalding tears fell upon it. He had surmised the truth—she *did* love him now with ten-fold strength and fervor, now that she had tried and proved his strength. There was something in him to love, to lean upon, to worship—something far more reliable, more attractive, and more binding, than mere masculine beauty—than the stately form, the dark, spirited countenance, and the fascinating gaiety that had pleased her childish fancy. There was firmness, courage, fortitude, *moral strength*; something that a true woman loves to rest upon, serve, adore. A wild and passionate longing seized her heart—to go and stand by him in his emergency—to help sustain him, if it were ever so slight a help, in this storm of persecution.

While the soul of India was convulsed in the terrible struggle between her strong and passionate affection and her invincible spirit of worldliness, Mark Sutherland lingered at Cashmere. The habit of considering himself a son of the house could not easily be uprooted; and the absorption of all his thoughts and feelings in the subject of his broken relations with India, prevented him for a time from perceiving the cold and scornful demeanor of the master of the house. Had he not been totally abstracted in mind, he would not for an hour have borne the insufferable arrogance of the man, which neither age nor relationship justified.

Let us be just to Clement Sutherland—ludicrous misnomer!—and try to speak of him with something like calmness, if we can. He was a grim, sallow, emaciated, hypochondriacal monomaniac, with one idea—a vast one—too vast for his capacities, for it was destroying him—*the world!* He was pervaded through and through, and eaten in and out, with worldliness, which had grown in him until it had crowded out every other human feeling opposed to itself; every virtue, every vice, every weakness, and every affection, that could not become the ally of this principle, was expelled. He was a narrow, sour, egotistical person, feared and deceived by the most cowardly of his dependents, defied by the others, and hated by all. He thought himself a proud and firm man. Pleasant self-delusion! He was only firm among the weak, and proud among the humble. To his master—*the world*—he was the most meek and submissive of slaves. If the world had bid him do it, he would have let an aged mother perish in his garret of neglect, or turned a young daughter out into the street. And the world treated him as it treats all its slaves—with contempt—not with open contempt—"conventionalism, like charity, covers a multitude of sins"—but it would smile approval before his face, and laugh its scorn behind his back; drop an ironical word of flattery into his ear, and let fly a seathing sarcasm after him. He had no religion of his own, and no faith in the religion of others. He had no conscience of his own, and sneered when people mentioned theirs. And yet he would, when he thought the world required it, sentimentalize like the veriest Joseph Surface alive. There went abroad an idea that he thought himself "a fine looking man;" certainly, upon occasions of state pageantry, such as a great review, a great funeral, or a great parade of any kind at all, he was fond of placing himself rather conspicuously and theatrically *en scene*, and at such times was rather apt to overstep the fine line that separates the ridiculous from the sublime; and then his self-delusion was so complete, and in comparison with all the rest of his acts so innocent, so complacent, and so natural, that one-half liked him for it, and would not have undeceived him for the world. Indeed, his self-conceit was the only naive thing about him. In all other respects he was deeply artful. He had gained the ascendency over all the members of his family connection; not by superior goodness or intelligence, but by superior guile.

His manner and deportment towards his nephew and his guest grew every hour more insulting and insufferable; and still Mark, by reason of his pre-occupation, did not perceive it, and Lincoln, vexed and embarrassed as he was, for Mark's sake, *would not see it.*

Miss Sutherland had perseveringly absented herself from the drawing-room and from the table—confining herself to her own room, and taking her meals there. At length one day, the family, as usual, with the exception of India, sat down to dinner. There were present Clement and Paul Sutherland, Mrs. Vivian, Miss Vivian, Mr. Bolling, Mark, and Lincoln—a party of seven persons, claiming to be refined women or honorable men; in a word, ladies and gentlemen—enough under any emergency to preserve the decencies of a family dinner-table. Clement Sutherland, the host, sat with the usual cloud upon his brow. When the waiter was about to lift the cover from the dish before him, he arrested his act, by saying—"Stop, sir! where is Miss Sutherland? Go, and let her know that dinner waits."

The man bowed, and left the room. An embarrassing pause and silence ensued, during which Clement Sutherland sat back in his chair, with a scowl upon his yellow forehead, with an expression and an attitude that he doubtless supposed to be awfully tragic and imposing, and which, in truth, was inexpressibly disagreeable, and even alarming; for all present felt that under all that ridiculous dramatic acting there was some real offence meant—some mean, unmanly, inhospitable act to be perpetrated. In about ten minutes the servant returned. Entering, and stepping lightly, he went up to his master's side, bowed, and in a low voice said—"Miss Sutherland, sir, has ordered me to say that she desires to be excused." And with another bow this very superfine waiter retired, and stood behind his master's chair. Clement Sutherland started up with an angry gesture, pushed his chair violently behind him, to the risk of upsetting my gentleman-waiter, and exclaimed—"Sirs, I have to ask you if the laws of hospitality are to be so abused as to exile my daughter from the head of the table, and how long it is your pleasure that this state of things shall continue?"

This explosion was just as shocking as though something like it had not been expected. Mark Sutherland, with a crimsoned brow, sprang from his chair. Lincoln, with perfect self-possession, deliberately arose, walked into the hall, took down his hat, returned, and, standing before Clement Sutherland, deliberately said—"Mr. Sutherland, permit me to make a due acknowledgment of the hospitality you have extended me, and also to express my regret that it has been so unpardonably trespassed against. I shall be most happy if you will afford me the opportunity to reciprocate the hospitality, and atone for the trespass. Good day, sir."

"Oh, young man, you have nothing to thank me for. If I have been sometimes civil to you, it was a piece of d——d hypocrisy upon my part, forced upon me as your host by your friend there. I had as willingly receive a house-breaker as an Abolitionist." Bowing to the ladies present, Lincoln withdrew. Mark Sutherland snatched his hat, and, without a word of leave-taking, left the room.

All the other members of the family circle remained seated at the table, with the exception of Miss Vivian, who, rising, excused herself, and retired.

When Mark Sutherland reached the rose-terrace, he called to Lincoln to stop, and wait until their horses were saddled. And then he hastened off to the stables to give his orders.

In a very short time the horses were brought up, and the young men mounted, and galloped away from the house. They rode on in silence for some time—Lincoln buried in calm thought, and Mark enrapt in a sort of fierce reverie. At length he backed his horse close up to Lincoln's steed, seized his hand, and exclaimed, "Lauderdale, how can I ever atone for exposing you to such insult?"

"Insult? My dear fellow"—(he was just about to say, "Mr. Clement Sutherland *cannot* insult me;" but delicate and generous in his consideration for the feelings of Mark, he only said)—"look in my face, and see if you think I am very much troubled." And, indeed, the pleasant countenance of the youth was well calculated to re-assure his friend.

They relapsed into silence as they approached the river. Sutherland was absorbed in mournful and bitter reverie, which Lauderdale forbore to break. They crossed the Pearl in perfect silence; Lincoln glancing from the beautiful semi-transparent river, with its surface softly flushed with rose and saffron clouds, to the gorgeous fields of cotton, with its myriads beyond myriads of golden white flowers. When they left the ferry-boat, and cantered up the gradual ascent of the road, and entered upon the domain of Silentshade, once more Mark put out his hand and seized that of his friend, saying, "Here at least is *my* home, where I may welcome any friend of mine for any length of time; and I do not so much *invite* you as I *entreat* you to come and stay with me as long as you can give me your company, if it be only, dear Lincoln, to prove that you forgive me the offence that has been offered you."

"Pray say no more about it, dear Mark; how are you responsible for an affront offered *yourself* as well as me? As for staying with you, I will do so with the greatest pleasure as long as I may."

And once more Mark Sutherland fell into silence—into bitter and sorrowful meditation—into deep despondency. Since India's haughty rejection of his hand, his life had grown awfully real to him. Before that, he had thought, spoken, and acted, as one under the influence of some inspiring dream. His anticipation and appreciation of the trials that awaited him, differed as much from the real experience of them as the imagining of some glorious martyrdom falls short of the suffering it.

Young enthusiast that he was, he had thought only of the excitement and glory of the heroism, and not of the fierce torture and maddening shame of the sacrifice. But now he felt his position in all its dreadful reality. And it was well that he should so feel it. It would test his sincerity, try his strength, prove his character. And now he rode on despairing, almost heart-broken. Yet even in this dark and clouded hour, one bright star of hope, and promise, and strength, shone on him—his mother—a mother's love—a mother's undying, unchanging love. It has been the theme of poets, of philosophers, and of novelists, since hearts first beat with affections, and tongues first gave them utterance. It is the chosen Scripture illustration to express even the divine love of God. The young man rode along, deeply musing on that mother's love—deeply thirsting for it. He felt—man as he was—that it would be a sweet and grateful relief to sit by her side, to drop his proud but weary head upon her shoulder, and for a little while to give vent to the flood of sorrow now stifled in his bosom—sure, that if others thought even such a transient yielding to grief unmanly, she, that tender and affectionate mother, never would think so. And so he mused upon that love—the only earthly love that never faileth—that neither misfortune can abate, nor crime alienate. And unfortunate and suffering in the cause of conscience as he was, how confidently he trusted in that mother's love, and sympathy, and support! Yea, though all other affection might fail him—though friends should forsake and relatives abandon him, and even his loved bride discard him—she, his mother, would be true!

He would have staked his salvation upon this, as they turned into the avenue of limes leading up to the house, and saw Mrs. Sutherland standing, smiling, upon the piazza. But, on seeing the young men approach, in one instant the lady's countenance changed.

She had had her lesson.

Without advancing one step to meet and welcome them, she allowed them, after dismounting from their horses, to walk quite up the steps, and to the very spot where she stood, and to bow and speak, before she relaxed one muscle of her cold, set countenance.

She replied to their greeting in the coldest tones, inviting them to enter the house.

For an instant, Mark and Lincoln raised their eyes to each other's face, and their glances met. A pang of mortification and disappointment sped through the heart of Sutherland; and Lauderdale, apparently not the least surprised or disconcerted, took his resolution.

Preceded by the lady, they entered the house, and passed into a front parlor, and at her cold invitation, which seemed more like a strained and reluctant permission granted, they took seats. Nothing could be more deeply disagreeable and embarrassing than the next few minutes. Mrs. Sutherland took her sofa in perfect silence, turned her face towards them with a look of cold inquiry, and assumed the air of waiting to hear what might be their business with her—what they might have to communicate.

This was very perplexing. They did not come on business—indeed, they were made to feel that *they had no business there*. They had come to be entertained and comforted and compensated, after the Clement Sutherland infliction. They had nothing particular to answer to that cold, questioning look, except Lauderdale, who, cool as his own clime, informed Mrs. Sutherland that the day was "very fine." The lady bowed in silent assent.

"The weather for many days past has been very pleasant," continued Lincoln, without the least embarrassment.

"Yes—I think the present state of the atmosphere highly favorable to travelling," said the lady, too fastidious to stab with a butcher's knife, but quite capable of piercing with a fine stiletto.

"Your climate here, madam, is not near so sultry as we of the North have supposed it to be," persevered Lincoln, not a whit abashed.

"Hem—yet at this season we think it too hot to be wholesome to you of the North," said the lady, with a curling lip.

"Humph," thought Lauderdale, "your courtesy, madam, is cold enough to cool the hottest hour of the hottest day in the hottest clime under the sun." But, turning to his friend Mark, he said—

"Sutherland, if madam will excuse us, will you be kind enough to let me have my room?"

And Mark, released from the vice into which he had felt himself compressed for the last ten minutes, very gladly sprang up to accompany him. Lauderdale bowed to Mrs. Sutherland, with some pardonable formality of ceremony, perhaps, as they left the parlor.

When they had reached Lincoln's chamber, in the second story, Mark threw himself into a chair, and covered his face with his hands. Lincoln went calmly to work, packing up his wardrobe. After a while, seeing that Sutherland kept his attitude of humiliation, he went up to him, clapped him upon the shoulder cheerfully, and said—

"*Never* mind, my dear Mark! *never* mind! You take this to heart far more than necessary. Now, I dare say that one of your hot-blooded, fire-eating Mississippians, treated as I have been, would call somebody out and do something desperate; but I really do not feel obliged to do anything of the sort."

"*I am* a Mississippian—do you consider *me* a very hot-blooded person? Am I not rather a miserable poltroon, to see my friend and guest outraged and insulted as you have been?"

"Well, that is as fine a piece of self-accusation as I have met with since reading the formula of Confession in a Roman Catholic missal. You could not help it, Mark—you could not affront age or womanhood, in my defence or your own," said Lauderdale; and he resumed his packing.

In a very few minutes it was completed, and

then he came to announce his departure to Mark, and to take leave of him.

"I have nothing to say to you, dear Lincoln—nothing whatever, except once more to entreat your pardon for what has passed, and to wish you well with all my heart."

He could not seek to change his guest's purpose—could not ask him to remain; how could he do so, indeed, knowing that while he staid he would be exposed to daily and hourly insult. He wished to order the carriage, but Lincoln positively refused to avail himself of it, saying that he would walk to the next village, and send for his trunks. Mark then pressed upon him the use of his own riding-horse, and Lincoln, to avoid wounding him, accepted it.

The young men then went down stairs; Lincoln entered the parlor, to bid adieu to his "most gracious hostess," and Mark left the house to order the horses, for he was resolved to accompany his friend.

In a few minutes they were in their saddles, and on the road leading to C——, a little, muddy, miserable town, about five miles down the river.

Here the friends finally separated, but not until Lincoln's trunks had been sent for and had arrived, and Lincoln himself had entered the stage that passed through the village that night, and was to convey him to some steamboat landing on the Mississippi, by which route he preferred to return North. They took leave, with mutual assurances of remembrances, and promises of frequent correspondence.

It was late at night when Mark Sutherland returned to his home, and he immediately went to his room.

He arose the next morning, with the full determination to set immediately to work.

"I must plunge myself into action, lest I wither by despair," might well have been his thought. His mother received him at the breakfast table with a freezing coldness. He told her respectfully what he intended to do during the day. She curled her lip, and begged him to proceed, without remorse or fear, to unroof the house that sheltered her head—that she trusted Heaven would give her strength to bear even that.

After breakfast, he set out, and rode to Jackson, to engage the services of a lawyer, to assist him in making out the deeds and taking the legal measures required in emancipating his slaves. As the distance to the city was a full day's journey, and he had business enough to occupy the whole of the second day, he did not reach home until the evening of the third. He came, accompanied by a lawyer. They were both tired and hungry, but found no supper prepared, and no one to make them welcome. Mr. Sutherland went out, and inquired for his mother, and was told that that lady desired to be excused from receiving the official that had come to make her homeless. Mark stifled a sigh; he ordered refreshments for his guest, and soon after showed him to his sleeping chamber.

The next day was a very busy, yet a very trying one. On coming down into the breakfast room, Mark Sutherland heard with poignant sorrow that his mother had departed from the house, carrying with her many of her personal effects, as if for a long or permanent absence, and had gone to take up her abode at Cashmere. In consternation at this act, Mark Sutherland rushed out to institute further inquiries, and found in front of the house a baggage-wagon, with Billy Bolling standing up in the midst, receiving and packing away trunks, boxes, &c., that were lifted to him by two negro men in attendance.

"In the name of Heaven, what is the meaning of all this, Uncle Billy?" asked Mark, in trepidation.

Mr. Bolling stood up, took his handkerchief leisurely from his pocket, wiped his flushed, perspiring face, replaced it, and answered—

"It means, sir, that you have turned my sister out of doors; that is all it means."

"But, Uncle Billy, my dear mother has perfect"——

"D——n it, sir, don't call my sister mother, or me Uncle Billy! You are no son or nephew of ours; we wash our hands of you! We cast you off! We'll have nothing to do with you!"

"Why, Mr. Bolling, what is the"——

"Confound it, sir, don't talk to me; you are a villain, sir! James, drive on!" And clapping his hat upon his head, Mr. Bolling sat down and settled the last box in its place, and the wagon was driven off.

It is impossible to describe the state of mind in which Mark Sutherland found himself. The distracting thoughts and emotions that whirled through brain and heart excited him almost to frenzy. He immediately wrote an imploring, passionate note to his mother, briefly alluding to the independence he intended to secure to her, and supplicating her to return to her own home. He sent it off; and, in a few minutes, unsatisfied with that note, he wrote another more affectionate, more ardent, more supplicating, and despatched that also.

And then, half-maddened as he was, he turned and set himself to his business. He caused all the slaves to be assembled on the lawn. He went out to them, and announced his intention of setting them free, and sending all who were willing to go, to the free States, to Canada, or to Liberia. He explained to them the good that must accrue to the younger and more intelligent and industrious among them, who might emigrate and settle in the last-named place. This news did not take the negroes the least by surprise. They had heard whisperings of the cause that had broken off their master's marriage, and set all his family and friends at feud with him. After closing his little speech to the assembled slaves, he singled out some dozen among them—heads of cabin families—old and steady negroes; and he took them with him into his library, where he explained to them at greater length the great advantages of the plan of emigration to Liberia. And then he dismissed them, to converse with each other, to reflect, and decide what they wished to do.

Next, he left his study to go and inquire if the messenger sent to his mother had returned. He found the man watching for him in the hall. He held a letter in his hand. Mr. Sutherland eagerly snatched it. It contained a few lines, formally advising him that no further communication would be received from him, which was not preceded by a full and complete renunciation of his obnoxious plans. While his gaze was painfully riveted upon this note, the second messenger arrived, bringing a letter in her hand. He seized it. *It was his own, returned unopened.*

"Did you see Mrs. Sutherland, Flamingo?"

"Yes sir."

"What did she say?"

"I gave her the letter, sir; she took it, and read the direction, and handed it back to me, and told me to take it back to him who sent it, and not to bring her another one."

"That will do—you may go," said Mark, and a spasm of pain twitched his countenance, as he tore up the letter and threw the fragments away.

"That is not all, sir—there is something else."

"Well, what new stab?" he thought; but he *said*—

"Well, what is it?"

Flamingo took from under his arm a small packet, wrapped in tissue paper, and handed it to him.

"What is this? Where did you get this?"

"Miss Rosalie gave it to me to bring to you."

"You may go now," said Mr. Sutherland, as he opened a door and passed into the parlor, and sat down to look at the packet. It was a little morocco case, containing a lady's small pocket Bible, bound in white velvet and silver, with silver clasps. An elegant little *bijou* it was. Upon the fly-leaf was written, "*Rosalie Vivian, from her affectionate and happy mother.*" And this writing bore a date of several years before.

On the opposite page was inscribed, "*Mark Sutherland, with the deep respect of Rosalie Vivian.*" And this inscription bore the date of to-day. A leaf was folded down, and when he opened it at the 27th psalm he saw marked this passage: "When my father and my mother forsake me, then will the Lord take me up." There was still another page turned down, and another pencil stroke, enclosing these words, (Mark x, 29:) "And Jesus answered, and said, verily, I say unto you, there is no man hath left home, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake and the gospel's, but he shall receive an hundred fold now in this time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions; and in the world to come, eternal life."

He turned over the little book with a fond look and smile—partly given to the elegant little *bijou* itself, such an inappropriate sort of copy to be sent to a man—and partly to the fair, gentle girl, its donor. The little incident came to him like a soft, encouraging pressure of the hand, or a kind word at his greatest need—like a loving benediction. And for the blessed words that were marked, they were dropped into his broken and tearful heart like good seed into the ploughed and watered earth, *to bring forth fruit in due season.*

He replaced the little book in its case, wrapped it again in its tissue paper, and for the present lodged it within the ample breast of his coat. He had never in his life heard Rosalie give expression to one fine heroic sentiment, such as fell plenteously from the lips of India, as the pearls and diamonds from the fairy-favored maiden of the child's story. But now he could not suppress the painful regret that the brilliant and enthusiastic India had not possessed more of the tenderness, sympathy, and *moral independence,* found in the fragile, retiring Rosalie.

It were tedious as needless to follow Mark Sutherland through all the multifarious and harassing details of business that filled up the next few weeks. His path was full of difficulties. Not only social and domestic discouragements and legal obstacles and delays, but difficulties that arose on the part of the negroes themselves. A few of them did not want the old state of things, with its familiar associations and close attachments, broken up. Some of them, who were anxious to be free, had wives and children, or husbands, upon some neighboring plantation, and so were held bound by their affections. Nay, indeed, often a mere fraternal love was sufficient to produce this effect. There was one young woman who preferred slavery to a separation from "Brother Jack and Old Mist'"—i. e. mistress. Her objections were overruled, and she was taken on board a steamboat with a party, under the charge of a man who was to see them safely beyond the Canada line; but her eyes were always distilling quiet tears; and when the agent asked her what was the matter, she answered, "A-pinin' after Old Mist' an' Brother Jack." There was absolutely nothing to be done but to let her return. This class of negroes, whose affections were so much stronger than their intellect or their spirits, proved to be a great trial and vexation to Mark, not only by throwing nearly insurmountable obstacles in the way of their own emancipation, but by affording his opponents much material for sneering. And if any one should be astonished at the stupidity of these ignorant people, let them cease to wonder, and let us look at our own fatuity in a parallel case: Here is God and Christ, always offering us redemption from the degrading bondage and darkness of sin, into the glorious liberty and light of regeneration, and we will not take it! We hesitate, doubt, and fear. We close our eyes to the unwelcome and disturbing light, and grovel again in darkness. It was in vain their benefactor told these men that after a few years of labor and saving they would be able to purchase their wives or children. They shook their heads—they feared—their spirits were too faint. As far as his means would go, Mr. Sutherland purchased these wives or children, and emancipated and sent them off with their husbands and fathers. And, after all, the majority of the slaves preferred their freedom before every other good.

At length, it was all over—the slaves all emancipated and gone, each with a sum of money to pay their transport and provide their immediate necessities, until they should find work. Many misgivings troubled the heart of Mr. Sutherland, as to whether they would do well with the liberty so unaccustomed and so newly given; but no doubts as to the righteousness of his own act ever crossed his mind. And so he committed the result to Providence.

He had taken care to secure the homestead to his mother. For her benefit he, had also placed at interest thirty thousand dollars, which, at six per cent., would yield her an income of eighteen hundred.

Having thus wound up his business, he went over to Cashmere to seek an interview—a *farewell* interview—with his mother and relatives. He learned that they had, a few days before, left Cashmere for the North.

The next morning, Mark Sutherland, with only ninety dollars in his pocket-book, with his wardrobe and his law books, departed from his childhood's home.

It may be as well to state here, that when the Sutherlands returned, in the autumn, Mrs. Sutherland, with some ten or twelve slaves, her own personal property, philosophically took up her abode at Silentshades, availed herself of the income her son had secured to her, and made herself generally comfortable.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

EXTRACTS FROM OUR CORRESPONDENCE.

St. Louis, March 15, 1853.—I have lately heard of a remarkable case of the good effects produced by reading Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which is certainly worthy of note, and may be an example for good. All honor to the worthy author! The case was this: H. D. Bacon, Esq., the eminent banker of this city, and one of the most distinguished citizens of the West, both for his liberality and enterprise, as well as for giving freely of his riches to build churches and endow colleges, had a favorite female slave, who with her child were the only slaves he owned, and which for some years he had left entirely uncontrolled. The woman was married to a free man of color, both being pious Christians, and, with her husband, was careless to procure free papers, which it was expected she could get at any time, when solicited. After reading "Uncle Tom," Mr. Bacon was convinced of the necessity of immediate action, and spoke to the confiding husband and wife of their perilous condition, in case he should die suddenly, wishing or rather urging them to procure the required security immediately, that they might be by law, what they only now were by his consent, free—all of which, I am happy to say, has been satisfactorily arranged, agreeably to both parties.

Perhaps you can condense a paragraph from the above. There is no question as to its truth; in fact, the case is really much stronger than is here presented. J. W.

Amid the jibes and jeers of "lower law" divines, and the vile insinuations and open hate of Hunker politicians and editors, Mrs. Stowe can trust to time to vindicate the truth of her great work. The above, we doubt not, is one of many instances where it has induced persons to bestow tardy justice upon those dependent upon them. *

Olive, Mobile county, Ohio, March 14.—I had a recent conversation with a Compromise Democrat, which may indicate the views which prevail in this section. I asked him why he was a Democrat. He replied, because he was in favor of the time-honored principles of the party. I then asked him what those principles were. What are your principles? he at length replied, somewhat confused. I told him that if he would take the trouble to examine the Pittsburgh platform, he would find out. Have you a platform? he said, somewhat astonished. Yes, sir, said I, and if you will read the *National Era* you will see what our principles are. Well, sir, are you in favor of freedom of speech and of the press? Yes, sir, he said. Do you support the Baltimore Platform? I stand on that platform. Are you in favor of the Fugitive Slave Law? No, sir; three-fourths of the Democratic party are opposed to it, and it will be repealed. I then asked him to tell me the difference between the two platforms adopted at Baltimore. After some hesitation, he said he never saw them. It is for the purpose of doing away with the erroneous impressions which prevail, that we are anxious to start in Noble county a Free Press, which shall attempt to arouse public sentiment upon the great question of Human Freedom. The number of freemen in this county is about 600, and probably 1,000 in the adjoining counties.

The above letter is suggestive. A free Democratic press is doubtless needed in Noble county. *

THE SLAVE TRADE IN BRAZIL.—It appears that the Brazilian slave trade has become nearly extinct. This is mainly due to the measures of the Brazilian Government itself, which, of late, has become sincerely and resolutely in earnest to suppress the traffic. The importation of slaves into Brazil, in 1848, amounted to 60,000, and in 1851 to only 3,286, of which 1,096 were captured by Brazilian cruisers, and declared free. During the past year, one vessel, and only one, it is said, is known to have landed a cargo of slaves on the coast of Brazil; and this occurred last June. The Brazilian Government deals very summarily with the slave traders. Any person found concerned in the traffic, no matter what his rank or condition may be, is imprisoned or banished without ceremony.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1853.

The following named gentlemen are authorized agents for the cities of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston:
William Alcorn, No. 826 Lombard street, Phila.
William Harned, No. 48 Beekman street, N. York.
G. W. Light, No. 3 Cornhill, Boston.

The editor of the *Era* is absent this week. He went to New York, expecting to see Mrs. Stowe before she should sail for Europe. We regret to hear that Mrs. S. was unable to sail from New York on the 26th inst., as she intended, on account of severe illness. *

HON. J. R. GIDDINGS has issued an address to the people of Cuyahoga, Lake, and Geauga counties, which we are unable to publish this week. These counties compose the district which Mr. Giddings so long and so faithfully represented in Congress; and his address recapitulates some of the changes in public sentiment since he first entered the House of Representatives. It will appear in the next *Era.* *

PITTSBURG WEEKLY DISPATCH.—The first number of this new weekly has been received. It is an independent paper, and professes to discuss impartially all questions of interest to the public. See advertisement. *

"MARK SUTHERLAND."—We are still able to supply subscribers with the paper from the commencement of this story. Persons desiring to begin with the story will please state the fact in ordering the paper.

☞ Subscribers who do not file the *Era* will confer a favor by remailing Nos. 314 and 315 to this office.

TO ADVERTISERS.

We have been compelled, for want of room, to suspend several new advertisements lately received, but will give them a place as soon as we can make room for them. We devote but three columns to advertisements, and are therefore not always able to insert all received, but endeavor to do so as speedily as possible, and in the rotation in which they are received.

Our terms for advertising are *ten cents a line* for the first insertion, and *five cents a line* for each subsequent insertion.

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE.

"Agitation is dead!" So say the Hunker Whigs—so say the Hunker Democrats. The wish is probably father to the thought. The new Administration is inaugurated. The new President endorses the Compromise acts, and declares that the Fugitive Slave Law must be carried into effect; and all his supporters say, Amen! Conservative Whigs vie with Hunker Democrats in singing praises to the new divinity who presides in the White House. The incense of flattery ascends from a thousand zealous "patriots," anxious to serve their country and to be fed with the crumbs of patronage which fall from the rich man's table. The edicts of the Baltimore Convention have been obeyed—agitation has ceased! The Free Democracy may be represented just now as the Lazarus lying at the rich man's gate, but none of the crumbs fall to the share of this Lazarus. The expectants of crumbs hope to gain favor by sneering at the beggar.

In view of recent facts, however, it may be doubted whether agitation *has* ceased. The new President has chosen two Southern Secessionists for seats in his Cabinet. The vacant seat on the Bench of the Supreme Court is given to another Secessionist. Efforts are making to ignore Freedom in the free States, and to inaugurate Slavery in its stead, and laws tending to produce this result are introduced into the Legislatures of New York and Pennsylvania. The effort to annul Freedom in Illinois has been successful, at least so far as the Legislature of that State could effect it; and the following paragraphs indicate what are the designs of the slaveholders in regard to California. One thing is certain—agitation *for* Slavery has not ceased, whatever may be said of agitation against it:

"The division of California into three States, distinct and separate, is now contemplated and pressed there. A majority of the Legislature, it is said, will order a State Convention, and upon that Convention will depend the mode, manner, and boundaries of division.

"The three States are to be named 'Sierra,' the mountain division, which has about 23,000 inhabitants by the last census; 'California,' which has 207,388; and 'Tulare,' the Southern State, including Los Angelos and San Diego, which has 34,150 inhabitants, and about seven and a half millions of taxable property. This Southern State of Tulare, in the division, it is contemplated by many of the occupants to make a slave State of, and one of the objects of pressing the division is to establish slavery there.

"The State debt of California is about three millions of dollars; and this debt, divided among the new States, would give California \$2,333,333; Tulare, \$400,000; and Sierra, \$266,667."

Here, then, we have it. Years ago, the *Era* called attention to the designs of the Slavery-extensionists in California. Their schemes were masked, and the above is the first open announcement of their purposes. The public sentiment of this new State can hardly be said to be awake to the importance of the subjects proposed in the above paragraphs. The project to erect a new slave State on the Pacific coast is talked of as coolly as men would talk of the purchase of a horse, and seems to excite no astonishment. Selfishness makes its demands, and the rights, the interests, and the happiness of untold generations have no weight in the scale. Will this scheme be successful? We fear it may be. Trading politicians from the Atlantic States have gone to California to advance their schemes of interest or ambition, and some of them with the specific purpose of extending the institution of Slavery. This class, so far as we can learn, control the Executive and Legislative departments of the State. Their efforts are unremitting to gain a foothold for Slavery on the Pacific coast. The above announcement indicates that their purposes are ripe for execution.

In view of this state of things, is it possible to check the agitation of the Slavery question? Will not the mandates of political National Conventions and Congressional resolves to make a *final* settlement of it by compromises, be alike disregarded? Like the ghost of Banquo, Agitation will not down! at their bidding.

One aspect of things is discouraging—another is hopeful. While politicians are active to introduce a reign of barbarism, and to enthrone serfdom in States and on soil consecrated to Freedom, the world is awaking to the enormities of Slavery. The enthusiastic reception of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" has paved the way for the inculcation of Anti-Slavery truth, and the friends of Freedom are called on by the condition of things around them not to relax their efforts, but to redouble and extend them. Let them do this in all practical ways—by spreading broadcast the issues of that mighty engine, the public press—by appeals to the judgment and consciences of their fellow-citizens—by conversations at the fireside and in social intercourse—by the organization of township and county clubs—by the gratuitous circulation of speeches and documents containing reliable facts, and by appeals to Heaven for a blessing on their labors. A righteous cause does not require unrighteous means to sustain it, and persistent action in the right direction will not fail to convince slaveholders, as well as lukewarm non-slaveholders, that their interests and the interests of the nation, no less than the advancement of Humanity in knowledge and virtue, demand that the right of all men to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," be recognised and established.

We see no ground for despair. Shadows, it is true, darken the horizon. But, thank God! the day is dawning. *

For the National Era.

DREAMING AND DUTY.

BY MARY IRVING.

You bid me leave my life of dreams,
And live the life that men call real;
To cast from my soul-chrysalis
Its web of gossamer ideal.

Go, chide the rose for idly thus
The summer evening's air perfuming—
Unveil the hidden violet,
And blame it for its lowly blooming.

Go—train the warbling wren to sing
Another song than God has taught it;
Or steal from my own mocking-bird
The myriad tones the winds have brought it!

Tell Ocean to be dumb, and still
Niagara's voice of "thunders seven!"
Teach every star among the spheres
To speak of something less than Heaven!

Then come, and bid me cease to dream!
When all that God gives dreamers only,
Has gone from earth, and sea, and sky—
And I am pining, left and lonely!

Dear friend! He would not wake the flowers
To shake my pulse with voiceless hymning—
He would not give the gush of song
That fills my heart to over-brimming—

If it were sin, with thankful tears,
To drink these dreams from bird and blossom;
To nurse a heart-throb that has found
No answer in *your* tideless bosom!

Oh! let me dream my life along!
I'll tread the rugged path of Duty,
May I but sow its stoniest steeps
With dream-land flowers of Love and Beauty!

I'll keep them fresh with happy tears,
From a young spirit's over-gushing—
I know the careless, crowding world,
Their feeble fragrance will be crushing;

But after I am gone, perhaps
Some humbler pilgrim, toiling there,
May pluck them with a sudden smile—
A fresher step—a firmer prayer!

NATURAL HISTORY OF SLAVERY.—NO. 1.

Slavery—the exercise of ownership by one man over another—is a many-sided subject. As a question of natural right, the logic of both natural and civil law agree that it can begin only in wrong; the moral law settles it by the principle, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;" and religion requires every man to love his neighbor as himself.

Abstractly, there is no doubt or difference of judgment about it. But the thing exists, and requires to be considered and treated not as a principle only, but as a fact. The conclusions of right reason, the requirements of absolute justice, and the obligations of religion, are not sufficient of themselves to close the controversy, because they have not yet been actually inaugurated in the government of human societies, and do not receive the efficient application to life and conduct in anything which is demanded for them in this. In reason, justice, and religion, Slavery has no place; in human experience, it has existed all over the world and in every age. The *Higher Law* is not abrogated, neither is it suspended, by any accidental impracticability. It rules of right, as God governs the world; but it is restrained of its proper force, as He is of his authority, by the conditions of human societies.

A fact universal as Slavery is in human history is the effect of causes, operating through a law or laws of the subject, which men must understand and adjust themselves to, if they would successfully interfere in order to ameliorate or abolish the system. It is a fact that men may know and venerate the absolute right, without being able thereby to legislate it into force in the conduct of their affairs. To love my neighbor as myself is so conformable to all that is best and bravest in me, that I can neither secure my own respect nor the world's without compliance. All that heroism which men everywhere worship, is but its practical illustration. No human soul accepts anything less in its ideal of excellence. But, how difficult it is in all things to impart, equally to all, the good which I enjoy? Many occasions are offered to every one for a perfect obedience to the precept, but circumstances make every man an offender against it in many things. Even in the life of an individual, a question of duty is not always settled for immediate and unconditional practice by ascertaining the eternal right of it; and in that great compromise of social agency which every man makes by joining with every other man in the community, in order to do the best they can for the common weal, there is large space left as there is positive necessity for the accommodations of a wise and honest expediency.

The Abolitionist is constantly met with the alleged impracticableness of his policy; and he must meet the argument, for it is a legitimate one. Those who are in resistance, it may be, are more stubborn than reasonable or just, in retorting the mote in the reformer's eye as an offset to the beam in their own; but all such recrimination, however much it may be an evasion of the perfect standard, is yet at bottom a plea of inability, fortifying itself by the general delinquency which it alleges. It says, in effect, "You ask of me a perfect obedience to laws and principles, which in a different application you yourself violate, because neither you nor I can fully obey them in our respective conditions." When the English philanthropist asks the Southern slaveholder to free his bondmen, he answers, "You have not yet emancipated yours; you have transformed the ancient serfdom of your laborers into a wages-slavery, which you call freedom, but it starves and brutalizes its victims none the less for its fairer name." This is not true, either in statement or in effect, for the point and purpose it is made to meet; but it is nevertheless based, though rudely and badly, upon a truth which deserves consideration. That truth is the difficulty of complying with the requirements of highest principles in the actual circumstances of human societies. It amounts to a general affirmation that labor is everywhere oppressed, and it assumes a necessity and implies an excuse for the wrong. The demand for the slave's legal emancipation is met by a denial that the measure is an adequate remedy for the evils which it proposes to remove. The defence is not complete, for the thing is not in itself defensible; the reply is not true in facts and statement, for the purpose is not candid; and the argument is unsound, because it does not fully intend to display the absolute truth and establish the right.

I propose to make the confession and the complaint of both sides, kindly and generously allowing all just excuses, and at the same time vindicating the law that rules and rebukes both parties to the great controversy.

The strife, as it stands, though it is concerned with things, is most frequently a war of words only; the issue made is generally a false one, or at best a side issue, that loses the true drift of the question. Forms and names are taken for facts and ideas, and the combatants seldom strike each other fairly in front. I hope to escape some of this mistake, by treating the whole subject as a question of labor and capital—a history of poverty and wealth—the inevitable slavery of the one, and the practical tyranny of the other. This apprehension, I believe, will justify itself as the investigation proceeds, and it will at least have the effect of putting the combatants upon even terms with each other, and compelling them to fight with their proper weapons, without advantage of foils and feints in the conflict. The slaveholder cannot object to such an array, for it gives him the full use of all his armor, offensive and defensive; and the Abolitionist cannot complain if he is turned into the arena as naked of artificial defences as his enemy.

I do not say that labor is slavery, that wages is bondage, nor that employer and owner are the same thing. These are or are not equivalent terms, as actual results and open possibilities determine; but I do not overstate the full meaning of *poverty,* when I affirm that it is the essence and substance of Slavery. The slave is the poorest of men, for he does not own his own bones and muscles; the man who owns nothing else is often as much in the market for the sale of all there is in them which the capitalist wants of him or them. That this point is not too bluntly or too broadly stated, will appear, I think, as we proceed. I do not stop now to indicate the difference of condition and attitude which circumstances are capable of effecting; that also will appear in the progress of the investigation. My conclusions will be drawn from the argument after it is presented—not stated now, at the risk of a biasing endeavor to establish them.

I am concerned now at the outset to guard and define the proposition that poverty is slavery, in order to avoid the prejudice of any possible misapprehension, and for the available use of the idea through the whole discussion of our subject. I am aware that Religion, both Pagan and Christian, as well as enlightened philosophy, provides consolations for hardship, suffering, and want, and annexes remunerations to self-denial and privation, which lend them a charm that nothing intrinsic in wealth can match; but it is not Lazarus at the rich man's door begging for bread, that affords the flattering contrast, but Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, and Dives in torment, which strikes the fancy and arouses the admiration. St. Paul hits the heart of the truth when he declares that "if in this life only we have hope, then are we of all men the most miserable." The life does not wholly lie on the level and within the grasp of circumstances; nor does it end with the strife which we here maintain with adversity. And "the sufferings of the present are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us;" but neither Religion nor Philosophy regard poverty—that poverty which brings ignorance, disease, slavery, and death—in any other light than as a blight, an evil, a curse, to be mitigated only in the degree that it is removed.

When the Great Teacher required his disciples to forsake all and follow him; when he promised them only hunger and thirst, and persecution, and the loss of all things, he uttered no commendation of that poverty to which he invited them; he spoke only a prediction, not a eulogy; and he described it as a lot of sorrow, suffering, and martyrdom, to be compensated, because it is a loss, by the current consciousness of benevolent heroism, and the ultimate glory which should follow. Suffering for the benefit of others, which cannot be otherwise accomplished, he enjoins both by precept and example; but it is a majestic overmastering of evils in charitable achievement which he commends, and not a word of contentment and pleasure does he utter with the supposed good of restraining and enfeebling privation. His miracles were wrought to relieve the distress of want and sickness. He went about delivering the poor from their endurance. He fed the hungry and healed the sick, in the same spirit that he cast out demons. Moreover, he reproduced and enlarged the idea of Moses, that temporal good is to be insured by the establishment of the Kingdom of God and his justice upon the earth. The founder of the Jewish State made the blessings of conformity to the theocratic system of civil government to consist wholly in temporal prosperity; the penalties of disobedience, in want, suffering, and slavery. (Deut., chap. xxviii.) And Christ clearly and positively promises abundance of the goods of this life to the church, when it shall organize its polity according to the justice of Heaven: "All these things, (viz: 'what ye shall eat, and what ye shall drink, and wherewithal ye shall be clothed,') shall be added unto you," (Matth., vi, 31–33,) as incidents of the new theocracy, when the requirements of its system shall be understood and obeyed.

These benefits of what we call wealth and luxury, here signified, are evidently not so much spiritual that they must needs be miraculous. They are to result from the established constitution of things rightly employed. They are a prediction of science, as well as a prophecy of revelation. And they are as sure as happiness must spring from the harmonies of the creation; as sure as beneficence must result from obedience to the system of existence, as it lies in the purpose of God.

It was but natural, perhaps, that stoicism and asceticism should result, the one from a high philosophy, the other from a sublime religion; for much endurance has ever hitherto been demanded by the prevalent evil of the world; but the duty of generous self-sacrifice and sturdy self-denial springs not out of their absolute excellence, but out of their necessity, leaving it still a higher duty to remove their causes and to replace their mischief by the conditions of a happier development for the life of the race. Men look for the "better time coming" on the earth, under the same impulse that they anticipate the blessedness of heaven. Thorns and thistles from the soil whose primitive product was good and beauty only, was at first, and while they remain will continue to be, a curse—only a curse—however the material evil may be made the indirect occasion of spiritual good. John the Baptist, the herald of the new order, came preaching in the wilderness of Judea, saying, "The kingdom of heaven is *at hand.*" Jesus never preached from any other *text;* and when he commissioned "the twelve" to go out among the lost sheep of the house of Israel, this was the burden of their message. (Matth., iii, 3; iv, 17; x, 7.) "Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done in earth as in heaven; give us this day our daily bread," has the like application to temporal blessings; nor is the sense of either of these passages limited to a spiritual or future state. They do not primarily look to a point in celestial geography, but to a perfect order of earthly existence. A religion which has no remedy for the evil and disorder of this life, is, for the purposes of the earth, a failure, and might as well be reserved for that state of existence to which it applies. If Christianity were wholly metaphysical, it would be inferior to Judaism and to natural morality. It must embrace a sound philanthropy, a wise political economy, and contemplate a millennial blessedness on earth, or it is but a dream of poetry, a vision of philosophical enthusiasm. The miracles of Christ have obviously this significance—nature shall be brought into obedience to grace. "Greater things than these shall ye do," foretells the perfect dominion over the elements which the wisdom of righteousness is destined to attain. Man is to be delivered from his slavery to the material world; faith shall remove mountains, heal the sick, feed the hungry, cast out devils, raise the dead, and realize in the ordinary experiences of earthly life the sovereignty of manhood over all its temporal conditions. The fact that spiritual, moral, and intellectual good, as they grow, proportionately overcome the evil of the world, is demonstrative evidence of a final triumph.

Want, meaning privation, or poverty of means and opportunity, is in no sense or degree the cause of our faculties, or of their activity and improvement. Want, or desire, in the sense of aspiration, is the impulse and cultivator of our powers; and the presence and fitting command of their proper objects is the necessary condition of their activity and growth. It is not subjection to, but sovereignty over, the physical forces which surround us, that best displays our faculties, and elicits them most favorably. Wealth is external, just as health is internal; luxury, and all real growth of the common life of men conditionally depends upon them. Self-denial and cross-bearing in the Christian system are strictly sacrificial, atoning, redeeming; they are death to the disciple, and the good which they secure to the world is abated, nevertheless, by the loss it sustains in his destruction. It were better if there were no occasion for the sacrifice; nay, the sacrifice is made to remove forever the occasion itself, and only for that purpose is it beneficial and obligatory. The sufferings and services of benevolence, patriotism, philanthropy, and religion, are evils and losses to the hero—evils intrinsically, whose office is to atone for other evils, and relieve and remove them. All genuine joy is good—all suffering is the fruit of sin, and carries ever with it the hereditary blight.

In the Divine purpose, man is the rightful lord of the earth, and master of its physical forces. Provision is made in the constitution of things for the establishment of his actual dominion over all the inferior creatures, animate and inanimate. They must be subdued to his uses. As they were created by the word of Almighty Power, they are yet to be governed by the intelligence of the beings created in the likeness of the Supreme Ruler. Humanity inherits the rule from the Maker, with all the rights, privileges, and powers, incident to the inheritance.

To Labor is delegated the divine function of continuous re-creation. It is the Immanuel, the material form and force of the "God with us." The insurgent forces of matter are everywhere in hostile array, but they are capable of a dutiful and beneficent service. The conflict would be greatly unequal, if animal force only were opposed to their resistance. Nature obeys *laws;* these laws are the method, the rule of action, of the Divine Mind. The discovery of His ideas makes them ours, and gives us their controlling power. He created all things by a word; we may rule them by a thought, when we shall have conquered our way into His secret. When we shall know the laws, we will need but to adjust the elements to each other, and they will do our work, and then the master of nature will be emancipated from his slavery, and invested with the complete viceroyalty of the globe. The dynamics of steam and magnetism are in proof and prophecy of such consummation.

The history of labor in the past, the facts of its progress and present condition, teach the great truth that material force, by the economy of nature, is necessarily the slave of mind. It is rightfully subordinate, whether it be in the form of dead machinery, or animal or human muscles—no matter, it is instrumental, merely, and it cannot be directory or governing. Physical power is but the servant of intellect, and its subordination, whether human, instinctive, or mechanical, is inevitable. It cannot, it should not, be otherwise. The supremacy of the soul over the body is necessary to all the highest ends of our existence. The whole economy of earthly things compels it. Its purposes are all beneficent. Its actual workings are abundant in good fruits already gathered, and full of promise for the future. The law, rightly understood, justifies the ways of Providence to man.

In our next article we will look into the facts of history and its teachings, for the light they can afford us upon our subject.

SENIOR.

OPENING OF THE RIVERS AMAZON AND LA PLATA.

The *Epoca,* a paper published at La Paz, the Capital of Bolivia, publishes a decree of the Government of that country, declaring free to the commerce and mercantile navigation of all nations, the waters of the navigable rivers, which, flowing through that territory, empty into the Amazon and Paraguay. The decree says:

"II. The following are declared free ports, open to the traffic and navigation of all vessels of commerce, whatever may be their flag, destination, or tonnage:

"In the river Mamore—Exaltacion, Trinidad, and Loreto.

"In the Beni—Rurenavaque, Muchanis, and Magdalena.

"In the Piray—Cuatro Ojos.

"In Chapare—Coni and Chimore, tributaries of the Mamore; the points of Asunta, Coni, and Chimore.

"In the rivers Mapiri and Coroico, tributaries of the Beni—the points of Guanay and Corioco.

"In the Pilcomayo—The port of Magarinos, on the east coast of the Paraguay, La Bahia Negra, and the point of Borbon.

"In the Bermejo—the point situated in 21 deg. 30 min. south latitude, at which embarked in 1848 the national engineers, Ondarza and Majia.

"III. The vessels of war of friendly nations will also be permitted to visit these ports.

"IV. The Government of Bolivia, availing itself of the unquestionable right which the nation has to navigate these rivers as far as the Atlantic, invites all the nations of the earth to navigate them, and promises:

"1. To donate in the Bolivian territory, by the authority which the law allows, tracts of land from one league to twelve leagues square, to the individuals or companies who, sailing from the Atlantic, shall arrive at one of the points declared to be ports of entry, and may wish to found near them agricultural and industrial establishments.

"2. To guaranty the reward of ten thousand dollars—\$10,000—to the first steamer which, through the La Plata or Amazon, may arrive at either of the above-mentioned points.

"3. To declare free the river exportation of the products of the soil and the national industry.

"V. In due time there will be established and regulated at the above-mentioned points, where it may be necessary, custom-houses for the loading and unloading of merchandise, the Government seeing that the charges for the use of these custom-houses may be as moderate as possible.

"VI. This decree will be submitted for the examination and approval of Congress, on their next meeting."

The Amazon is the largest river in the world, and is navigable almost to its source; the country it waters being fertile, and the climate salubrious. The above decree will doubtless stimulate our adventurous and enterprising citizens to embrace the important advantages which it offers. The reward of \$10,000 to the first steamer which navigates the La Plata or Amazon, will doubtless be awarded to a Yankee. *

MR. DOUGLAS AND MR. BUTLER.

The almost dead calm of the extra session in the Senate was enlivened by a little passage at arms between Senators Douglas and Butler, on the 16th instant. The resolution submitted by Mr. Clayton, calling upon the President for certain papers connected with the Clayton and Bulwer treaty, were under consideration. Mr. Douglas made a speech in reply to that of Mr. Clayton, in the course of which he remarked:

"He [Mr. Clayton] had arraigned him for having attempted to arouse unkind feelings between the United States and England. He denied that this was just. He had never attempted to foster jealousies and unkindness between the two countries. He had only attempted to plant our relations on friendly terms by speaking the truth, as we and they understand and know it to exist. The remark he made about friendly relations was drawn out by the sentiment that England is known to be friendly to us. He, in reply, said that he did not believe her friendly relations constituted a claim to our gratitude. He had said, frankly, he did not think England loves us, and that it was useless to pretend that we love her. The history and the daily actions of the two countries prove this. England is spending her millions to maintain her fortifications all along our coasts, including barren rocks and waste places. Why keep them there? Does she make money out of them? It is known that they are sources of unbounded expenditure. Do they extend commerce? Not at all. She keeps her guns to point at America. If she is so friendly to us, and thus exhibits her love, we should reciprocate, and point our guns at her. We feel that these attempts to fetter and surround us are evidences of hostility, which it is our duty to see, and our ability to resist. The way that friendly relations are to be maintained, is to let her understand our policy, and not be so pusillanimous as to submit to her aggressions. Let her understand what we say, and that we will carry out what we profess, and she will be careful not to aggress. It is a want of candor and frankness that creates unfriendly relations. Ours is an honorable course; hers is illiberal, unkind, and unjust, and we ought to tell her so. He did not desire to annex any more territory, but he frankly avowed we will see the day when we will be compelled to do so. We cannot help, nor can treaties prevent it."

Mr. Butler dissented from the opinion of Mr. Douglas, that it was the duty of the President to have sent down to the Senate the "Hise treaty."

"The President, in his judgment, dared not send that treaty to the Senate, because there were in it provisions repugnant to the Constitution. The President ought to perfect the treaty before he sends it here. It should be communicated as an entirety, and to ask the Senate to mould it would change the whole policy of this Government. When he was told that the United States, a civilized confederacy of republics, is not to conduct its intercourse with the world by treaties, and is not to be restrained by them, and is to know no law but that of self-interest, he had to say we may grow fast, but not live long. Nations must meet with penalties for transgressions, as individuals; and if the principle shall be established that might makes right, and that treaties can be violated with impunity, then the historian will write one of the elements of our decay. Are we to fulfil our destiny without law and without restraint? Cannot treaties, constitutions, and laws, restrain us from running with an acceleration which must result in ruin? He wanted the bridle of restraint to control, and not the spurs to drive us on. We must rely on treaties. When the time arrives for a modification of them, it must be by mutual consent, or annulled by war, the justifiable cause for which it is for every nation to judge. But there is a higher tribunal than ours.

"He heard, with surprise, the Senator speak of England as a mere nation which existed in the past. When we despise England, we must despise the soil of the tree from the fruits of which we have been fed. We must despise Hampden, Sidney, Chatham, Shakspeare, and Burke. He did not say that he had special love for any nation than his own. There is none on God Almighty's earth that he loved as much. But he loved England, because she was his mother, and had poured her tributary and refreshing streams out upon America. The very common law itself made us. We have English law and literature, and tell me that I must despise her! This debate was calculated to sow the seeds of bitterness and delicacy in our relations.

"Mr. Douglas wished to state that President Polk sent a treaty to the Senate—the Mexican treaty—which he said contained obnoxious provisions. The Senator and they who acted with him modified it, and ratified it, and it became a law.

"Mr. Butler thought the treaty was sent down as an entirety, the President saying that Trist had no authority for making it.

"Mr. Douglas. The President said that certain provisions must be stricken out before it could be sanctioned by him. He wished to state what his position was: we should never make a treaty which we cannot faithfully execute. Good faith requires this. His argument was in favor of the sanctity of treaties, and not in favor of violating them. The Senator referred to remarks of his, and said that we ought to love England with respect, because she is our mother. It would be hard to tell who our mother was. [Laughter.] We have a great many mothers. We have English, Irish, Scotch, French, Norman, Spanish, and every kind of descent. You cannot tell exactly who our mother was, if we go back to nations to find our mother. All we have found valuable in England we have adopted, and rejected what was injurious; so of the rest of the world. A wise people will avail themselves of wise principles, not regarding their origin. He did not speak in terms of unkindness of England, but spoke of her monuments. The point he made was, that we should not shut our eyes to the fact that England is pursuing a policy which has its origin in hostility to us, and to enhance her own interests. And he had to remark to the Senator, that when he heard him speaking of England pouring in her streams of refreshing intelligence, he thought the broad streams of abolition, treason, and insurrections, had been poured plentifully enough into South Carolina and other slaveholding States of this Union, at least to excuse him from endorsing the streams of literature under the name of Uncle Tom's Cabin and other such works. [Applause in the galleries, and cries of "Good!" "good!"]

"The Chair called to order.

"Mr. Douglas. They are constantly sending works and addresses here, libelling our institutions, and holding us up to the hate and prejudice of the world. While they are thus engaged, he was the last to compliment England for her refreshing streams of literature. [Laughter and renewed applause.]

"The Chair said that unless order should be preserved, the galleries would be cleared.

"Mr. Adams hoped the galleries would be cleared.

"Mr. Douglas. I hope they will.

"Mr. Butler said, when he spoke of gratitude, he spoke of things in which we all have a common interest. He did not thank the Senator for going out of his way to indicate the impure streams. He spoke in laudation of the authors and orators who have poured out their streams upon us, which he trusted were as refreshing to the Senator as they were to the intelligence of the age. Would he dissent from the eloquence and literature of Burke, Chatham, Shakspeare, Hampden, and Sidney? When he spoke of the literature of England, he did not expect a miserable allusion to Uncle Tom's Cabin. It was *ad captandum,* but not manly made.

"Mr. Douglas said he spoke in terms of reverence and respect of the monuments and tombstones of England, erected to patriotism, legal learning, science, and literature—all great, noble, and admirable—and did not expect Senators to go back two or three centuries past to justify the aggressions of the present; there-

fore he thought he had a right to show the Senate the present enormities of England.

"Mr. Butler should like to know how Europe is responsible for Uncle Tom's Cabin. If we take the spurious, sickly sentimentality of the day as an exponent of the English heart, we will find such literature everywhere. With regard to England, in all our commercial relations, would the Senator postpone her?

"Mr. Douglas. I would not postpone her, or give her a preference over other nations, but treat her as our duty requires.

"Mr. Butler repeated that we could find this sickly sentimentality everywhere, the Maine Liquor Law, and all that. [Laughter.]"

Mr. Clayton defended his course in reference to the Hise treaty. He had already proved that treaty to be in contravention of the Constitution of the United States. It proposed gross political and entangling alliances. In conclusion, he caused to be read an extract from the Farewell Address of Washington, with a view of refreshing the Senate, namely:

"The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection—either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculating policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim."

The sneer of Mr. Douglas at Uncle Tom's Cabin was probably to have been expected from him, considering his relations to the "*peculiar institution*;" but, as Mr. Butler remarked, it was "not manly made." *

EXTRA SESSION OF THE SENATE.

March 25, 1853.

Mr. Adams offered the following resolution, which lies over:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to appoint a reading Secretary, whose duty it shall be to attend in the Senate, and assist the Secretary, and do such duties, when the Senate is not in session, as the Secretary may require. And he shall receive, per annum, out of the contingent fund of the Senate, the same salary as the Chief Clerk of the Senate.

There being no quorum—twenty-seven members only being present—the Senate adjourned.

March 26, 1853.

Several resolutions of inquiry were passed, when the Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution of Mr. Walker, authorizing the Committee on Indian Affairs to delegate one of their number to proceed, during the recess of Congress, to take testimony in the matter now on reference to said committee, touching certain frauds alleged to have been committed by Alexander Ramsey and others, in making payment of moneys to certain bands of Sioux Indians.

After debate, the resolution was laid upon the table, and the Committee on Indian Affairs discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

Mr. Seward offered a resolution, which was adopted, calling upon the President to communicate the correspondence (subject not stated) between our Minister at the Court of Brazil and the American Secretary of State.

Further business, of no public importance, was transacted, when the Senate went into an Executive session.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT,

By and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

A. Dudley Mann, to be Assistant Secretary of State.

Charles Mason, of Iowa, to be Commissioner of Patents; George W. Manypenny, of Ohio, to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Nathaniel G. Upham, of New Hampshire, to be commissioner of the United States under the convention with her Britannic Majesty on the subject of claims.

Robert Farquharson, of Tennessee, to be secretary of the Territory of Washington.

John S. Clendenin, of Louisiana, to be attorney of the United States for the Territory of Washington.

Harry Wilton, to be marshal of the United States for the district of Illinois, in place of Benjamin Bond, removed.

Hugh J. Anderson, of Maine, to be commissioner of customs, in place of Charles Rockwell, resigned.

Isaac H. Sturgeon, to be Assistant Treasurer of the United States at St. Louis, Missouri, in place of A. R. Easton, not commissioned.

Robert Wilson Fraser, of Massachusetts, to be consul of the United States at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in place of T. B. Livingston, dead.

Consuls.—William Henry Vesey, of Pennsylvania, to be consul of the United States at Havre, in France; John F. Bacon, of New York, to be consul of the United States at Nassau, in the island of New Providence; Henry B. Dewey, of Pennsylvania, to be consul of the United States at Para, in Brazil; Amos S. York, to be consul of the United States for the island of Zante.

Judges.—John A. Campbell, of Alabama, to be an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Edward Lander, of Indiana, to be chief justice for the Territory of Washington; John K. Miller, of Ohio, to be an associate justice for the Territory of Washington; Victor Monroe, of Kentucky, to be an associate justice for the Territory of Washington.

Marshals and Attorneys.—William M. Lowry, to be marshal of the United States for the eastern district of Tennessee; Watson Freeman, to be marshal for the district of Massachusetts; Westley Frost, to be marshal for the western district of Pennsylvania; J. Patton Anderson, of Mississippi, to be marshal for the Territory of Washington; Fleming B. Miller, to be attorney of the United States for the western district of Virginia; J. C. Ramsey, to be attorney of the United States for the eastern district of Tennessee.

Justices of the Peace.—C. H. Wiltberger, J. M. Wright, E. H. Bates, and James Lawrenson, to be justices of the peace for the District of Columbia; Henry Naylor, Joshua Pierce, John L. Smith, Samuel Smoot, and James Crandell, to be justices of the peace for the District of Columbia from and after the 25th inst., when their present commissions will expire.

Postmasters.—Selah R. Hobbie, to be First Assistant Postmaster General; Henry Sanderson, to be deputy postmaster at New Brunswick, N. J.; Benjamin Johnson, to be deputy postmaster at Austin, in the county of Travis, State of Texas; John G. Maier, to be deputy postmaster at Fort Wayne, Allen county Ind.; Isaac Cook, to be deputy postmaster at Chicago, Cook county, Illinois.

Collectors of Customs.—Paul Arnau, district of St. Augustine, Fla.; Hamilton Stuart, district of Texas; Richard P. Hammond, district of San Francisco, California; Edward P. Little, district of Plymouth, Massachusetts; Samuel L. Gardener, district of Sag Harbor, New York; Jesse Sharpe, district of Delaware; Jas. Sands, district of Annapolis, Maryland; Geo. T. Wright, district of Tappahannock, Virginia; John Boston, district of Savannah, Georgia; John H. Harmon, district of Detroit, Michigan; J. N. Eby, district of Puget's Sound, Oregon; James M. Scofield, district of San Joaquin, California; Lansing B. Mizner, Sonoma, California; Philip Beauprie, district of Minnesota.

Surveyors.—William C. Barker, at Providence, Rhode Island; Asa Gray, at Tiverton, Rhode Island; Lyndon Taylor, at Pawcatuck, Rhode Island; Gordon Forbes, at Yeocomico, Virginia; William B. Flannor, at Wilmington, North Carolina; Isaac Hutchinson, at Evansville, Indiana.

Appraisers.—O. P. Sutton, at San Francisco, California; Philip A. Roach, at San Francisco, California.

Land Offices.—Alexander F. Bell, to be register of the land office at Ionia, Michigan; Frederick A. Hall, to be receiver of public moneys at Ionia, Michigan; Ebenezer Warner, to be register of the land office at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan; William A. Pratt, to be receiver of public moneys at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan; Wm. M. Fenton, to be register of the land office at Genesee, Michigan; Thomas S. Atlee, to be register of the land office at Kalamazoo, Michigan; Lawrence Van De Walker, to be receiver of public moneys at Kalamazoo, Michigan; James Long, to be register of the land office at Chicago, Illinois; Michael G. Dale, to be register of the land office at Edwardsville, Illinois; Robert C. Wilson, to be receiver of public moneys at Palestine, Illinois.

Miscellaneous.—Green W. Caldwell, to be superintendent of the branch mint at Charlotte, in the State of North Carolina; Christopher Carson, of New Mexico, to be Indian agent in New Mexico; Joseph M. Garrison, of Oregon, to be Indian agent in Oregon.

LETTER FROM CINCINNATI.

The New Fire Department—Need of a Reform—Nature of the New System—Steam Fire Engine—The Romanists and the Public Schools

Cincinnati, *March* 19, 1853.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The city council of this place have taken a step which ought to be known abroad, and may well be commended to some of our sister cities at the East. It is the abolition of the old system of voluntary fire companies, and the establishment of a paid department in the place of it. An act was passed a few days since, providing for an entirely new organization, under the control of the city authorities, which is to be put into operation immediately. This measure was, in fact, demanded by the necessities of the city; the lawlessness and mobocratic spirit of our fire companies having been on the increase for some years, until we have rivalled Philadelphia in the riots and street fights among our firemen.

Our fire department was for many years an admirable one; as efficient and respectable as any in the Union; the pride of the city, indeed, for its energy, promptness, and love of order. But for about three years past it has sunk rapidly in reputation, a low and turbulent class of men have become members, firemen's riots have increased in frequency, companies have disbanded at their pleasure, when likely to be dealt with for riotous conduct; the fire association has utterly failed to remedy these evils, and the consequence has been, that the efficiency of the department has been destroyed, its character degraded, worthy men have left it, and its influence for some time has been positively demoralizing. The good men connected with it have labored to save it from ruin, but they have long since been out-numbered by those determined upon rowdyism. The disease has for some time been approaching a crisis, and it is a matter for congratulation that just as it had become to all good citizens *intolerable*, the council, with commendable promptness and unanimity, applied the true remedy. After full discussion at several meetings, and a few amendments, the new ordinance was passed by a *unanimous vote*; which, in view of the variety of opinion among the members upon politics and every other subject, from high conservatism to the lowest radicalism, is remarkable, and speaks well for the excellence, in theory at least, of the new system.

The expense of the new system, it is thought, will in the end be less than that of the old. The latter, for the past three years, has cost the city nearly $52,000 per year. The cost of the paid system, the first year, will be about $60,000, and considerably less afterwards, when it shall be in full operation. The security of property and life, the decreased risks and rates of insurance, the good order of the city, and the diminished temptations to rioting and idleness, will more than compensate for an increased expenditure, should there be any. The service, too, will be placed where it should be, upon the same basis as other duties required by the public, and which they are able to pay for.

The new system seems to be a good one, and should be submitted to a full and fair trial. It is similar to the Boston plan, now in operation there, with some variations, adapting it to our locality. The ordinance provides for one chief engineer, to be chosen annually by the city council. The city is divided into four districts, with one assistant engineer in each. There will be 12 companies, each consisting of 25 men, with a captain and lieutenant. Five of the men shall be stationed at each engine-house, designated as foremen, assistant foremen, two pipemen, and driver—a driver and one pipeman always to be on duty; the apparatus to be hauled by horses to and from fires. The insurance companies have agreed to pay the expenses of establishing a fire telegraph over the city, by which the number of alarms is expected to be diminished.

The assistant engineers are to be appointed by the council; the captains by a board of supervisors, consisting of the engineers and the committee of council on the fire department. The members of the companies are appointed by the engineers. The salaries are graded judiciously, according to the amount of time bestowed on the department—those whose *whole* time and services are engaged being paid accordingly.

It is of the highest importance that a man of the right stamp should be put at the head of this organization, and that care be taken to prevent unworthy men, at the start, from becoming members of the new companies. Such an one we have, with the necessary qualifications of experience, firmness, independence, and energy; and who, though not in need of and not seeking the office, has consented to serve, and spend one year in putting the plan into successful operation. This is Miles Greenwood, whom, by common consent, men of all parties look to as the man pre-eminently qualified for this post. Sustained, as the new system is, by public sentiment, we are sanguine of its success.

There is another experiment in progress here, which promises to be of great utility. It is a steam fire engine, which has been built at an expense of some seven or eight thousand dollars. It has been tried repeatedly in the streets, and at several fires, and is said to answer the purposes contemplated, admirably. Those who are competent judges are sanguine in the belief that it can be substituted for the common engine now in use, worked by hand. It is a locomotive, but requires horses to assist it, especially in gutters and rough places. It requires five regular hands to keep it in operation—an engineer, a fireman, a driver, and two hosemen. At the last trial, made in the presence of several hundred people, steam was raised in four minutes after the torch was applied, and in twelve minutes she was throwing a stream of water, through a 1¾-inch nozzle, 238 feet. She throws six streams of water at one time, each better than our firemen usually throw upon a fire. This machine can be moved through the streets rapidly, and can be turned round in the middle of a square with ease. Another one is to be built, and if, with some improvements contemplated, the steam fire engines should prove entirely successful, it is thought that five of them would answer all the wants of the city, and the present hand engines be dispensed with. This is an age of experiments, at all events; and should this succeed, it will be another triumph of inventive genius ministering to the protection of human life and property.

Our approaching election for city officers is one of more than usual importance, as the new charter, re-modelling in some important particulars our city Government, goes into operation in April. The creation of a police court, the modification of the duties of the Mayor, some changes in the election of the City Council, and the organization of the Hospital and City Infirmary, with proposed changes in the police, ought, if faithfully carried out, to result in an improvement in the government and good order of the city.

Besides this, the Romanists, acting in concert with the Catholic bishops and priests in other States, have *forced* upon us the consideration of their claims to an alteration of the public school system, so as to give a portion of the school fund to the support of schools under their control. They have endeavored by petition to the General Assembly to get their demands complied with, but, failing entirely in that, they have organized in the various wards to elect trustees of the city schools favorable to their claims. The subject is now undergoing a discussion in the newspapers, and adds not a little interest to the election. Take it all in all, we have an opportunity, by filling the numerous offices made elective by the people with good men, to give a new and better impulse to our city affairs; and, if the result proves in any way worthy of imitation, your readers shall hear of it, that our Eastern brethren may profit, if they are willing to learn from us, by the experience of the Queen City of the West.

Yours, P.

NEBRASKA TERRITORY.

The bill organizing the new territory of Nebraska was killed in the Senate, although it passed the House. The members from Texas are charged with its defeat. The Missouri *Democrat* says:

"We regret to be informed that the organization of the Territory of Nebraska must be postponed, at least until the next session of Congress. Its defeat is charged to Gen. Houston; if correctly, he has been instrumental in frustrating one of the most important and beneficial pieces of legislation which has been before the Senate for years past. What reasons have operated upon him, we are not, as yet, fully advised; at present, however, we can attribute his course only to sectional feeling, unworthy of a United States Senator."

The defeat of the bill may be traced to that miserable sectional jealousy, which seeks to limit free territory as much as possible, and tries to keep up a fanciful "balance of power," utterly impracticable and unattainable. *

Democracy.—The *Practical Observer*, an old-line Democratic print, published at Valparaiso, Indiana, has been lately enlarged and improved, and is now issued weekly and semi-weekly. Its editor may be classed among the liberal Democrats, who regard Democracy as something more than a name. He notices favorably the Indiana *Free Democrat*, and adds:

"We may further observe in this connection, that the two great parties, at their National Conventions last year, took substantially the same position on all political questions, namely, the positions of the Southern and Pro-Slavery Democrats; so the Free Soil party, composed of Whigs and Democrats, dissenting and seceding from their old parties, have at their Pittsburgh National Convention, and at their several State Conventions, outdone the old Democratic party itself in asserting those time-honored, radical, and progressive principles in regard to currency, revenue, State rights, constitutional construction, popular elections, &c., which have heretofore distinguished the great Democratic party of the nation; so that now, in point of fact, unless their firm adherence to that old and forgotten principle, that all men have a right to liberty, is to be considered as an Anti-Democratic feature, they are really the most thoroughly Democratic party now in existence. If they adhere to the positions now assumed, the party name of Free Democracy is very appropriate. If they are not the organized party that is to regenerate our national policy, purging it of slavery, aristocracy and corruption, and bringing it back to the pure Democracy intended by the founders of the Republic, they are at least the fore-runner of that party, as John the Baptist was of the Christian Church."

Rewarded.—Hon. John K. Miller, of Ohio, has been appointed United States Judge for the new Territory of Washington. The correspondent of the *South Side Democrat* commends his appointment, and adds, that "his course in Congress upon Slavery questions, and his subsequent political martyrdom on that account, fit him admirably for the favor bestowed upon him by President Pierce. He is more obnoxious to those of Abolition tendencies than any other man who served in Congress."

The plain English of this is, that Mr. Miller's course was so odious to his constituents, that they failed to re-elect him; but this fact was sufficient to commend him to the new Administration as a fit person to fill a responsible judicial appointment in a new Territory—the Executive, in the language of his Inaugural, being doubtless "moved by no other impulse than a most earnest desire for the perpetuation of that Union which has made us what we are." *

The Christian *Herald*, published at Detroit, Michigan, thus compliments the *Era*:

"*Luxuriousness.*—Dr. Bailey, of the *National Era*, is said to have 28,000 subscribers, and to be really doing a paying business. So far, however, from envying him for this, we hope it is all true, and rejoice in his prosperity. He has richly earned the confidence and support he is receiving, and there is no political or literary journal among us more deserving at the hands of liberal-minded men. The pro-slavery side has hitherto been the money-making side; but we are happy to see that there are to be exceptions to this hereafter."

Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin.—This long-expected work is expected to be ready early in April. The publishers say that it will be a larger work than Uncle Tom, and that it cannot be sold at less than 50 cents per copy. They add:

"We commenced printing 20,000 copies for the first edition, but orders poured in so largely, that we were obliged to increase the edition to 40,000 copies, and these are nearly all ordered in advance of publication; and, from present appearences, we should not be surprised if we were compelled to increase the number to 60,000, before we can commence answering first orders."

Mr. Townshend's Speech.—The Cleveland *True Democrat* promises to publish the speech of this sturdy champion of Free Democracy on Reciprocal Trade with Canada, and adds:

"The principle of reciprocity is the true one. It is just in itself, and can only help those nations that will act upon it. As to our *interests*, it is clear that they demand it; not one, but all of them; commercial, manufacturing, agricultural."

California.—The correspondent of the *Tribune* at San Francisco, under date of February 15, writes that land claims of every grade are springing up like mushrooms. We observe that some of the papers strongly condemn the Commissioners on Private Land Claims. The *Tribune's* correspondent says:

"Benicia, the 'city of the Straits,' has accomplished her cherished purpose—of which I advised you some weeks since—becoming the State Capital. The Legislature is now in session there.

"The Convention question is now fairly open. Senate committee has reported favorably, and endeavor to cover up the real schemes by urging the economy of biennial Legislatures, while the real scheme is division. The ball opens. If it is submitted to the people, it will make hot work. There is a strong Southern element here in the population from that section, and in the trimmers, traders, politicians, and doughfaces, from the North and East. The 'cotton' interest can poll a stronger vote than you would credit.

"Slaves have frequently been introduced into this State, and after working here to the satisfaction of their owners, have been forcibly carried back. To help the transportation of such persons, it is well understood that an 'underground railroad' has been constructed at Panama."

New Hampshire.—The Concord *Democrat* sums up the total vote in 220 towns at the recent election for Governor—the whole State except five townships, which do not throw over 100 votes. The vote stands: Bell, 17,715; Martin, 30,720; White, 8,187. The Free Democratic vote shows an increase on that of the late Presidential election of some 1,500, thus making a gain upon both the old parties. *

"Der Unabhaengige," a paper heretofore published twice a week in Cincinnati, has been changed to a daily. It is a Free Democratic paper, and has the names of Hale and Julian at the head of its columns. *

Mr. G. McCann was recently rescued from a watery grave in the Mississippi river by one of his negro men, who, at the peril of his own life, swam out to him, seized him by the hair, and brought him to a skiff, in which he succeeded in placing him.

According to the Richmond *Examiner*, this negro was a brute, with none of the attributes of manhood. The above action exhibits traits of character of which humanity may well be proud. *

For the National Era.

THRENODY FOR FLORA.

WRITTEN FOR HER PARENTS.

BY COATES-KINNEY.

Out of the cluster of our love,
A star has vanished up the sky;
Out of our nest, a spirit dove
Has flown angelically high.

A gap is in our fireside ring,
The wideness of a little tomb;
A prattle, such as robins sing,
Has faded out of every room.

Our hearts long for her pretty charms
Of babish questions manifold,
And for the little hugging arms
Now locked across her bosom cold.

Her bright hair, and her eyes that beamed
So bonnily, oh, how we miss!
And, oh, her loving lips, that seemed
Fashioned so purposely to kiss.

As they who may in exile be,
Grow homesick for the ones they love,
So we grow heavensick to see
Our pet seraphical above.

Pet of the angels! in that home,
Faith sees her face serenely fair;
For, as she entered heaven's dome,
She left a window open there.

Spring-Valley, Ohio.

Hon. John Dickey, formerly member of Congress from Pennsylvania, died of apoplexy at Pittsburgh, on the 14th instant. At the time of his death, he was marshal for the western district. *

Hon. Wm. R. King was qualified as Vice President on the 4th of March, at *La Cunbre*, about three miles from Matanzas. The oath was administered by Consul Rodney, in accordance with a special act of Congress.

Murder in Philadelphia.—Two married women, sisters, named Hannah Shaw and Ellen Lynch, were found murdered in their house, in Southwark, on the morning of the 11th inst. The details are shocking to contemplate. Forty-one stabs were found on the body of Mrs. Lynch. Arthur Spring, an old Sing Sing convict, is now on trial for the murder. The principal witness against him is his own son, an intelligent lad about 18 years of age, who, the papers say, told his story in an artless manner and with great minuteness. Spring charges his son, and a boy named Quin, with the crime; but his statements obtain no credence.

On Thursday last, Spring was found guilty of murder in the first degree. *

Oliver Johnson, editor of the Pennsylvania *Freeman*, has retired from that print, and will hereafter be connected with the *Anti-Slavery Standard*. Cyrus M. Burleigh will hereafter edit the *Freeman*. *

Among the acts of the last Congress is one regulating the fees of attorneys, marshals, and commissioners, in the Courts of the United States. This act increases, in many cases, the fees to be taxed in cases in those Courts. It allows docket fees to attorneys on a pretty liberal scale. They are allowed to tax fees as follows:

After judgment on trial - - -	$20.00
On judgment without jury - -	10.00
On discontinuances - - -	5.00
For each deposition read - - -	2.50

South Carolina.—The following gentlemen have been elected to Congress from South Carolina:

1st district, Hon. John McQueen; 2d district, Hon. Wm. Aiken; 3d district, Hon. W. F. Colcock; 4th district, Hon. P. S. Brooks; 5th district, Hon. J. L. Orr; 6th district, Hon. W. L. Boyce.

Return of Santa Anna to Mexico.—*New Orleans, March* 20.—We learn by an arrival from Vera Cruz, that the Mexican Commissioners sent out to solicit the return of Gen. Santa Anna, returned to Vera Cruz on the 4th inst. They report that Gen. Santa Anna will accept the Presidency of the Republic. He breathes vengeance against Gen. Arista, and harbors a strong hostility to the United States.

The Captain General of Cuba has notified the American Consul at Havana, that all papers coming to that island hereafter, from the United States, must have a string or band round them, so as to admit of being opened readily; and if letters be found in them, they will be mailed properly, and full postage charged. The law went into operation on the 1st instant.

FOUR DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

New York, *March* 22, 1853.

The steamer Atlantic arrived at a quarter past six o'clock.

England.—In the House of Lords, on Monday, the Earl of Malmsbury, alluding to a report that Mazzini had escaped on board an English frigate at Genoa, said that, if the report was true, it was an act of ill-judged humanity on the part of the English commander.

Government proposes to establish mints in Australia.

Parliament was to be prorogued from the 18th instant to the 4th of April.

The trade returns to the 15th of February show an increase in exportations over last year of nearly one million and a half pounds.

France.—The Emperor has appointed a commission to visit every part of the empire, and inquire into the wants of the country.

Father Lacordiere has been ordered to quit Paris, for alluding in harsh terms to the Emperor in a sermon.

A tradesman in Paris has been arrested, charged by a dying woman with shooting at the Archbishop of Paris during insurrection, June, 1848.

A monument is to be erected to Marshal Ney, on the spot where he was executed.

Italy.—Confiscation had begun in Lombardy. The United States frigates Cumberland and St. Louis had taken many fugitives on board.

Mazzini's letters have produced disunion in the Democratic camp in Italy. The poor approve Mazzini's attempt against Lombardy, but the nobles, apprehending confiscation, loudly condemn him.

The Milan Gazette contains the decree of confiscation. The London Times says the spoliation commenced extends not only to the revenues, but to sums hitherto payable to the refugees.

The United States frigates Cumberland and St. Louis had arrived at Genoa.

Mazzini, it is generally believed, got on board the English frigate Retribution, as she was leaving the harbor. Many refugees had got on board the American frigates.

The Roman States were generally quiet. The eight new cardinals comprise five Italians, together with the Archbishop of Tours, the Primate of Hungary, and another not mentioned.

Hildreth's "White Slave" and a new edition of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" had been published in Rome.

Austria.—The Emperor had nearly recovered from the effects of the wound received from his attempted assassin.

The rumored conspiracy at Comorn, and the hanging of the Provost, has been fully confirmed. The Provost was led to Pesth in chains. The object of the conspirators was to deliver the fortress to the hands of the Magyars. Five hundred have been arrested and taken to Pesth.

Turkey.—Menzikoff, the Russian envoy, had arrived at Constantinople.

The arrangements between Austria and Turkey are said to be, that Hungarians and Poles serving in the Turkish army are to be immediately dismissed, the Porte withdraws its troops from Montenegro, and pays the 4,000,000 piastres due to Austrian subjects. Vleck and Sutorina remain in Turkey, but the latter relinquishes her right to erect fortifications on them, and to approach them by sea.

OBITUARY.

Died at Madison, Wisconsin, on the 8th of March, after a short illness, John R. Kendall, of Burlington, aged 34 years and 8 months.

Mr. Kendall was a native of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and came to Wisconsin in 1839. By a firm and consistent adherence to high moral principles, he established a character for honesty and integrity of purpose, which is the enduring monument of a good man.

THREE DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

New York, *March* 25.—The steamer Asia has arrived, bringing Liverpool dates of the 12th instant.

The Jewish Disabilities bill had passed a second reading in Parliament.

The Queens of England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Greece, were reported to be *enciente*.

The ship Francis Henty had arrived from Melbourne, with £300,000 in gold.

Two more members of Parliament, Messrs. Heyworth and Horsfall, of Derby, had been unseated for bribery.

It is definitely settled that the Pope will go to Paris to crown Napoleon on the 1st of May.

A French consulate is to be established at Broussa, in Turkey.

A report from Naples, dated the 7th, states that an attempt had been made upon the life of King Ferdinand. The journal *Italia Populo* states that a gun was fired at the King, who was so severely wounded in the leg, that his surgeon thought amputation would be necessary. The Daily News says that the report requires confirmation; but asserts that there had been several collisions between the people and the Swiss regiments at Naples, in which many lives were lost.

Great military precautions were being taken at Nuremberg and Munich, and many political arrests had been made.

The Emperor of Austria had entirely recovered, and bestowed a pension on the assassin's mother. A subscription to build a church on the spot of the attempted murder had reached 150,000 florins.

Intelligence from Pesth states that Noslopy, chief of the Guerillas, and three accomplices, had been executed on the 6th. One of them was the tutor of Kossuth's children.

At Milan, the citizens are forbidden to approach the sentries. M. Bernardi, for failing to observe the rule, was bayoneted. The number of arrests between the 6th and 25th were six hundred.

Three political prisoners had been hanged at Mantua, viz: M. Spori, of Brescia; Count Montanara, of Verona; and Graziola Mitned, Abbot of Rovore, who was over seventy years of age. Twenty-five others were condemned to death, or twenty years' imprisonment.

The Lombard emigants in Piedmont affected by the sequestration of their property have applied to the Piedmontese Government for protection. The ministry have resolved to protest against the confiscation, and forward the remonstrance to Vienna—giving notice of the same to the Courts of London and Paris.

The ducal decree of Parma condemns every conspirator against a foreign Government to five years at the galleys. Martial law had been proclaimed at Forti, and many arrests were making at Lierma.

The Austrians have occupied the fortresses of Belvidera and Basso, ordering the removal of the Tuscan artillery.

Prince Menchikoff, the Russian Envoy, had had an audience at Constantinople with the Porte. Turkey refers the question of the Holy Sepulchre to Prussia. Russia makes a formal demand for the publication of a firman in favor of the Greek church, obtained some time since, but recently regarded as a dead letter.

All hostilities were suspended in Montenegro, and political refugees removed to the interior. Klock and Sutorina are guarantied to Austria, and the Porte agrees to protect the Bosnian Christians. Ibrahim Pacha is dead.

Compensation of Postmasters.—One of the acts passed on the night of the 3d of March, to establish certain post routes, &c., contains a section fixing the following as the commissions of postmasters after the 1st of April next:

On a sum not exceeding $100, 50 per cent.
Between $100 and $400, 40 per cent.
Between $400 and $2,400, 35 per cent.
On a sum exceeding $2,400, 15 per cent.

Where the mail arrives regularly between 9 at night and 5 in the morning, 60 per cent. is allowed on the first $100.

Those officers whose compensation shall not exceed $500 a quarter, are allowed one cent for every "free" letter delivered out of their office; and each postmaster is allowed two mills for delivery from his office to a subscriber, each newspaper not chargeable with postage.

CHAPLIN'S BAIL.

Received, through G. Bailey, the following contributions, for the relief of Chaplin's bail:

Wm. Brown - - -	$5.00	J. Hickok - - -	$11.00
E. B. Haskell - -	3 00	L. D. Jarrell - - -	6.00
N. Curtiss - - -	4.00		

In answer to numerous inquiries in relation to the Chaplin case, we would state, that the Court of the District of Columbia demanded $6,000 bail; that Chaplin was then delivered by the Judge to the officers from Maryland, upon a requisition from the Governor; that $19,000 bail was demanded in Maryland; that $5,000 deposited with us by Mr. C.'s friends was returned to them, to release him from confinement in Maryland. We contested the payment of the $6,000 here, upon the ground that the Court broke our bond by surrendering Chaplin to the Maryland authorities; the Court decided against us, and from that decision there is no appeal.

W. Blanchard.
S. Parker.
D. A. Hall.

Washington, March 28, 1853.

BALTIMORE MARKET.

[CORRECTED WEEKLY FOR THE ERA.]

Beef cattle, On the hoof -	$2.75	a	$3.75
Beef cattle, Net - - -	5.50	a	7.25
Beef cattle, Gross average	3.25	a	0.00
Beef, Mess, per bbl. - -	15.50	a	0.00
Butter, per lb. - - - -	0.14	a	0.16
Cheese, per lb. - - - -	0.09½	a	0.09¾
Clover seed, per bushel -	7.25	a	7.50
Corn meal, per bbl. - - -	3.00	a	0.00
Corn, white, per bushel -	0.50	a	0.51
Corn, yellow, per bushel -	0.55	a	0.57
Corn, mixed, per bushel -	0.00	a	0.00
Flour, Howard Street, - -	4.50	a	4.62½
Hams, per lb. - - - -	0.10	a	0.12
Shoulders, per lb. - - -	0.06½	a	0.07
Sides, per lb. - - - - -	0.07⅞	a	0.08
Hogs, live - - - - - -	7.50	a	8.00
Lard, in bbls., per lb. - -	0.09	a	0.09¼
Lard, in kegs, per lb. - -	0.10¼	a	0.10½
Oats, per bushel - - - -	0.34	a	0.39
Pork, Mess, per bbl. - -	15.50	a	16.00
Pork, Prime, per bbl. - -	15.00	a	0.00
Rye, per bushel - - - -	0.73	a	0.75
Rye flour - - - - - -	3.94	a	4.00
Wheat, red, per bushel -	1.00	a	1.05
Wheat, white, per bushel -	1.08	a	1.12
Wool, washed, per lb. - -	0.38	a	0.41
Wool, unwashed, per lb. -	0.28	a	0.30

Pleasant and Profitable Employment.—Young Men, in every town and village of the United States, may find a safe and profitable employment for their time and money, (say $25 or $50,) by addressing, post-paid, FOWLERS & WELLS, Publishers, Clinton Hall, No. 131 Nassau street, New York.

Feb. 24—4t

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN. PRICE 37½ CENTS.

A cheap edition of this work has been published, at the reduced price of 37½ cents per copy; or it will be mailed to any part of the United States, *free of postage*, on the receipt of 50 cents. Five copies sent free of postage for $2.

A KEY TO UNCLE TOM'S CABIN,

Presenting the original facts and documents upon which the story is founded, together with corroborative statements, verifying the truth of the work, will appear in the early part of April. This work has been considerably enlarged from what was originally intended, and of course the price also. Price now 50 cents. Postage 15 cents.

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WHITE SLAVERY IN THE BARBARY STATES. By Hon. Charles Sumner. With forty splendid illustrations by Billings, engraved by Baker & Smith. It makes a beautiful 16mo volume of about 140 pages, bound in cloth, thin boards, printed in the most elegant style, on the best paper. Price at retail, 50 cents; or mailed to any part of the United States, *free of postage*, on the receipt of 62½ cents.

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Dec. 16—y *John W. North. George W. Prescott.*

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Hon. N. S. Townshend's Speech on the Present Position of the Democratic Party. Delivered in the House of Representatives, June 23, 1852. Eight pages. Price 75 cents per hundred, including postage. Address A. M. GANGEWER, *Secretary, Box* 195, *Washington City, D. C.*

November 8, 1852.

☞ The above Speeches are sold by William Harned, 48 Beekman street, New York.

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PUBLIC DOCUMENT.

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,

Communicating the report of Edward F. Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, respecting the condition of Indian affairs in that State.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, March 3, 1853.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you, herewith, a letter from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of the present date, accompanied by an original report of Edward F. Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the State of California, on the subject of Indian affairs in that State.

The original report is sent, because of the impossibility of having it copied in time; and for the same reason I must request that the committee of the Senate may also have the use of it.

I am, sir, with much respect, your obedient servant,

ALEX. H. H. STUART, *Secretary.*

Hon. W. K. Sebastian, Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, Senate.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Office Indian Affairs, March 3, 1853.

SIR; I have the honor to enclose, herewith, a report made to this office by Edward F. Beale, Esq., Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the State of California, which, in view of its important character, and of the urgent necessity for immediate legislation in regard to Indian affairs in that State, I respectfully recommend may be laid before Congress at the earliest moment.

That this may be done without delay, the original report is transmitted.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

L. LEA, *Commissioner.*

Hon. A. H. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Interior.

To Luke Lea, Esq., Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

SIR: On my arrival in California, in the month of September last, I immediately entered on the discharge of my duties, as expressly required by law, to "exercise administrative examination over all claims, and accounts, and vouchers for disbursements, connected with Indian affairs in the State of California;" and also to exercise a general supervision over the "official conduct and accounts" of the Indian agents within my superintendency; and also to discharge the duties of superintendent in relation to the Indians themselves. And in discharge of these duties, I have from time to time made communications to your office, and now make a general report, to show, as nearly as possible, the condition of our Indian relations in California, and to suggest the measures which I deem necessary for the future well-being of the Indians, and the better management of the public service in relation to them, in that State. In doing this, I premise, what is well known to you, that our laws and policy with respect to Indians have been neglected or violated in that State; that they are driven from their homes and deprived of their hunting-grounds and fishing-waters at the discretion of the whites; and when they come back to these grounds and waters to get the means of subsistence, and also when they take cattle and stock from the inhabitants for food, they are often killed, thus giving rise to retaliation and to wars; and in this way a state of things exists there which is not known in the other parts of the United States, where the Indian intercourse laws are enforced by the Government, and Indian territorial possession is protected by the Government. This anomalous state of things is necessary to be remembered, in order to understand the operations of the superintendent and of the agents in that country.

To remedy this state of things, and to secure to the Indians some resting-place and supply them with some food, and make some compensation for the country taken from them, the established policy of making treaties with them was adopted by the Government, and several treaties made, all of which were rejected; so that now the Indians remain without practical protection from law or treaties, and the Government officers have to do the best they can to save them from death by massacre or starvation. For that purpose, the rejected treaties stipulated for "*reserves*" for the Indians to live upon, and for supplies of food; and a part of the food, in the form of beef cattle, was immediately contracted for, and some part delivered; but in some of these deliveries great irregularities occurred, (which I have heretofore communicated,) to the great injury of the Indians and the Government.

The following official questions and answers, between myself and agent Wozencraft, will exhibit what I deem irregularities in his official conduct; and as he is now in this city, he can give the explanations which the case may admit of.

Memorandum of conversation of Superintendent Beale with agent O. M. Wozencraft: San Francisco, September 14, 1852.

"*Question* 1. With whom were your contracts for beef made?

"*Answer.* The first with Mr. S. Norris.

"*Q.* 2. By whom were they issued to the Indians?

"*A.* By the traders appointed by myself.

"*Q.* 3. What proof had you that they were issued to the Indians?

"*A.* No other proof than the word of the traders themselves.

"*Q.* 4. How were the weights estimated?

"*A.* By asking any persons who might be on the ground to say what they thought the average weight of the drove to be.

"*Q.* 5. Have you any further proof than the mere word of the traders, that the Indians ever received the beef without paying for it?

"*A.* None; I have not any. I generally saw the beef which was issued during the negotiation of the treaties. It was not weighed.

"*Q.* 6. Have you not given drafts on the Government for cattle which are not yet delivered?

"*A.* Yes.

"*Q.* 7. Have you not ordered beef, to the amount of fifteen hundred head, to be delivered between the Fresno and Four Creeks, without ever having been in the Four Creeks region?

"*A.* I have never been to the Four Creeks region, but have ordered the beef.

"*Q.* 8. How many Indians do you suppose the Four Creeks country to contain?

"*A.* I do not know.

"*Q* 9. If you did not know, how could you determine the amount of cattle necessary for their subsistence?

"*A.* From what was promised them by the treaties.

"*Q.* 10. How do you know that the Indians of the Four Creeks ever received any of that beef?

"*A.* Nothing further than that I was told so by the traders at the Fresno. I have no proof of it.

"*Q.* 11. How far is the Fresno from the Four Creeks?

"*A.* Eighty miles.

"*Q.* 12. Do you not know that, in some instances, the traders who issued and the contractors for the supply of the beef were the same men?

"*A.* I do.

"*Q.* 13. Were the contracts made by you verbal or written?

"*A.* With Mr. Norris my contract was simply a verbal one; with Messrs. Savage & Haler it was, on my part, the acceptance from them of a proposition, which I understand was the same as a contract.

"I have sometimes, when on a visit to the reservations, seen the traders killing beef for the Indians, but do not know whether it was the beef furnished by me or not. It was the impression on my mind, however, that it was the beef of the Government. I was told it was so.

"I acknowledge the above answers as those made to E. F. Beale, in reply to questions put by him, in his official capacity as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California.

"O. M. WOZENCRAFT,
"*U. S. Indian Agent.*"

I certify that the above is a true copy of the original in my possession.

E. F. BEALE,
Superintendent Indian Affairs.

Statement made by Col. Williams to the undersigned, this 7th day of June, 1852.

"That Dr. Wozencraft proposed to Colonel Williams that he would give to him (Williams) the contract for supplying the Indians with 2,500 head of beeves, upon the following condition: Each beef to weigh 500 pounds, at 12½ cents per pound, or $62.50 each, provided he (Williams) would pay to Wozencraft one-half the profits after allowing Williams $10 a head each, which Williams refused to do, but afterwards agreed to pay Wozencraft $25,000 for said contract as above mentioned; and which agreement was reduced to writing by Wozencraft, and read by him to Williams, which Williams signed without reading, supposing the contents to be as read by Wozencraft. Upon a subsequent interview at San Francisco, Williams found the paper signed by him to be in accordance with the first proposition of Wozencraft, (as above,) and not agreeable to the one subsequently agreed upon, which he signed, believing it to be as read by Wozencraft, for $25,000; that he (Williams) refused to comply with said agreement; whereupon Wozencraft said he should consider the contract void, as he could do better. "C. S. LOVELL.
"G. A. STURGES."

With respect to Mr. Barbour, and the delivery to the Indians of the cattle received from Col. Fremont, and for which drafts were given, it would appear by the accompanying documents that a very small part only went to the Indians—the agent, after receiving the cattle from Colonel Fremont, having put them in the care of an Indian trader, named Savage, (since killed in some affray,) who converted the greater part of them to his own use. The following statement, made to me by the person employed by Savage to deliver cattle to the Indians, will show the nature and extent of this malversation:

Official statement of Joel H. Brooks to Superintendent Beale, dated San Francisco, September 21, 1852.

"On or about the 29th August, 1851, I was appointed by Major James Savage, the Indian trader on the Fresno, to take charge of nineteen hundred (1,900) head of cattle, that were delivered to the Indian agents, Barbour and Johnson, by Col. J. C. Fremont, on the river San Joaquin.

"My instructions from Savage were, that when I delivered cattle on the San Joaquin and King's river, and to other more southern Indians, I was to take receipts for double the number actually delivered, and to make no second delivery in case any should return to the band; and when to Indians on the Fresno, to deliver one-third less than were receipted for. I also had orders to sell all beef I could to miners, which I did to the amount of about $120 or $130, and to deliver cattle to his clerks, to be sold to the Indians on the San Joaquin, at 25 cents per pound; and I know that such sales were made to those Indians.

"In October, I received a written order from Savage, to deliver to Alexander Godey seventy-eight head of cattle, to be driven to the mines, and there sold to miners and others. I was also requested, in the same communication, to destroy the order as soon as read; which was done, after I had read it aloud in the presence of Godey, P. Rainbolt, José de Soto, and Theodore McNabb. In November I received a similar order to deliver to Godey four hundred and fifty head, which was done. The best of these were to be sold as soon as possible, and the remainder to be herded by Godey elsewhere. About the last of November, or first of December, I moved the cattle in my possession on to the river Fresno, and delivered to P. Rainbolt, a person appointed by Savage to receive them, eight hundred head. I also gave to Savage receipts to the number of seventeen hundred head, which I had taken from the Indians. After the cattle went on the Fresno, none were ever delivered to the more southern Indians, although I know that Tom Kit, the chief of the tribe on the San Joaquin, frequently sent after them. Some were sent to the Indians working for Savage on the 'Coarse Gold Gulch,' and others to stock his rancho on the San Joaquin.

"Utia had charge of that rancho, and was a part of Savage's, and I have seen some of the cattle I had charge of in their corral.

"I give the above account to E. F. Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and intend it as an official statement.

"JOEL H. BROOKS."

With respect to Agent McKee's pecuniary operations I have but little knowledge, as his accounts were required to be settled at the Department here; but many certificates were presented to me, which he had given out in the name of the Government, (believed to be about $32,000,) and that over and above the appropriation made by Congress. I refused to pay these liabilities, there being no appropriation for that purpose. The following official correspondence applies to some of Agent McKee's operations, and his replies are on file in your office. Copies thereof, I understand, will be embraced in the correspondence called for by a resolution of the Senate of the 21st ultimo.

Copy of a letter from Major Wessels to Captain Townsend, A. A. G., dated Benicia Barracks, March 21, 1852.

"I have had the honor of receiving from headquarters Pacific division, copies of communications from the Hon. C. M. Conrad, Secretary of War, Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and a letter from Redick McKee, Indian Agent, all in reference to certain remarks contained in my report as commanding officer of an escort attending the latter gentleman on a tour among Indian tribes, from Sonoma valley to the Klamath river. These papers having been referred to me, I will state in full my reasons for introducing those remarks in my report, premising, however, that they were made officially, as an officer of the Government, uninfluenced in any particular by either private or personal considerations, and pointed solely at the system (if so it can be called) of issuing fresh beef to the Indians, as it came under my notice. No accusations were made; and if such inference is drawn by any one, the matter, I suppose, is open to investigation; and in such an event it would afford me much gratification to meet with a result alike advantageous to the Government and creditable to all concerned. It is possible that, in alluding to this subject, I have trespassed beyond the bounds of my legitimate duties as commander of the escort; and if such is the fact, I am very willing that every word should be expunged, satisfied with having directed to it the attention of the proper authorities.

"An expedition to Clear lake, and thence through the coast-range to Humboldt bay and Klamath river, had been contemplated in the early part of last summer; and as the time approached for its departure, public attention to a considerable extent was directed towards it. It afforded a pretty general topic for conversation; but I observed that the chief point of interest attached to it was a certain herd of beef cattle destined to follow the march, and for the use of such Indian tribes as were willing to treat. This, however, was previous to my being detailed for that service; and as it was no concern of my own, I gave to it but little attention. On assuming command of the escort, repeated inquiries were made of me as to the manner of furnishing beef to the Indians—whether purchased in open market on the hoof, or contracted for in the usual way with the lowest bidder. Speculation, it was well known, was rife throughout the country, and this seemed to be looked upon as a *grand* speculation. Of course, I could give no satisfactory reply to questions of that nature, as it was no business of my own; but from a constant repetition of the subject my attention was, and unwillingly, directed towards it. I heard the belief repeatedly expressed 'that it was a swindling transaction;' that 'the herd of beef cattle controlled the movements of the expedition;' and it is possible that I have expressed the same opinion. It may have been an erroneous one, and I hope it was.

"It was observed that a son of the acting Commissioner, holding the appointment of secretary, was agent for the owners of the cattle, and had entire control of the issues. It was also believed that he was a partner in the concern, or directly interested in the profits. Such was my own belief, having been so informed by the chief herdsman of the drove; and this is one feature in the system which I could not fail to condemn.

"At one time, some eight or ten head of cattle were turned over to Indians on the hoof, their weight being estimated, as I believed at the time, in a very careless way, to say the least, and the amount reported to the Commissioner. The accounts will show whether the contractors had any reason to complain of the profits, since seventy-five dollars, with a certain share of the profits, was paid for the largest and best American oxen in the herd, as I was informed by the owner of them.

"On another occasion, a small quantity of beef, which could not otherwise be disposed of, was reported to the Commissioner as having been issued to Indians in his temporary absence, when no Indians were present to receive it, and never did receive it; this being related to me by the man who killed the animal, and who ought to have known the circumstances, being at the time employed as a kind of subdrover to the herd. If this information was correct—and I believe it was—the Commissioner was deceived, and a fraud, to a small extent, was perpetrated on the Government. I know myself that no Indians were in camp at the time; at all events, whether true or not, I was satisfied in my own mind that frauds could be practiced with impunity, unless a different system of accountability was adopted.

"At another time, a beef, broken down on the road and unable to walk, was butchered at a distance of nearly a mile from camp, by the same individual above mentioned, and he was directed by the chief drover to dress the animal, and leave it there for issue to Indians, when no Indians were present; this was told me by the man himself, as a first-rate joke, showing how easy it was to dispose of broken-down cattle. Of course I am not aware that this beef was charged as an issue, but was satisfied that the occurrence took place as stated; and, if actually charged, the Commissioner was deceived.

"There are tangible points in the system, forced upon my attention, which caused me to allude to the subject in my official report, and which led me to believe that a better one could be adopted."

Agent McKee was furnished with a copy of this letter; which being communicated to Captain Wessels, he replied as follows, adhering to his first positions, with a few slight qualifications:

Extract of a letter from Major Wessels to Captain Townsend, A. A. G., dated Benicia Barracks, March 30, 1852.

"The communication of Col. R. McKee, Indian agent, dated 26th inst., addressed to the commanding general Pacific division, has been referred to me; and, after perusal, I must beg leave to insist upon the position assumed by myself, as set forth in my official report of November last, and communication of 21st inst., in regard to issues of beef to Indians. The system I still maintain is open to great abuse, and on that account the subject was alluded to in my report. It was my intention to be accurate in every particular; but it is possible that my assertion in regard to the secretary of the commission 'having entire control of the issues' should have been less comprehensive, and I am willing to qualify that remark so far as to say that the secretary had 'entire control of the herd of cattle *intended* for issue,' which was the fact. No reference whatever has been made by me to 'rumors rife throughout the country;' my statements are mere facts, just as they occurred. I mentioned that 'speculation was rife,' and on this account attention was directed to the herd of cattle as a speculation of magnitude, inquiries being frequently made of me as to the nature of the contract, by different individuals anxious to engage in it."

Copy of a letter from Colonel E. A. Hitchcock, 2d Infantry, to Superintendent Beale, dated San Francisco, September 21, 1852.

"I have just received your communication of this date, requesting such information as I may be able to furnish you, likely to be of service in the execution of your duties as superintendent of Indian affairs in this country; and asking transportation for agent R. McKee, with the troops about to proceed to the northern boundaries of the State.

"Our duties will necessarily have much influence upon each other, and it will afford me the greatest pleasure to furnish you any information I may chance to have, which may promise to be useful. In regard to agent McKee, I regret to say, but do so from a sense of duty, that his presence with the troops will not, in my opinion, be productive of any advantage to the public. Information to some extent, and rumor to a much greater extent, have impaired my confidence in Colonel McKee's usefulness as a public agent, and I do not hesitate to request that he may not be directed to accompany the troops."

With respect to sub-agent Johnson, I made a communication to the Department on the 30th September, 1852, (of which I here give an extract,) and add that he has given out various certificates, of which some were presented to me for payment, and refused; also, that he drew drafts, of which one was for cattle which had not been delivered; and of all which transactions he may have made a report to the Government.

Extract of a letter from Superintendent Beale to Luke Lea, Esq., Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated San Francisco, September 30, 1852.

"Adam Johnson, late Indian sub-agent, called on me a few days ago, with the verbal request that I would settle his accounts. It appears he was dismissed from the service in January, and has nevertheless failed, since that time, to forward his accounts for settlement. As the date of his dismissal was previous to my appointment, and the fault that his accounts remained unsettled his own, I did not feel that he had any claim on me. I replied to him, however, that if he brought the subject before me in an *official* manner, I would give it my attention. I believe he has since sent them to Washington."

I believe the drafts drawn for cattle not yet delivered, were for 2,100 head, of which 700 were by agent Wozencraft, and 1,400 by sub-agent Johnson. These transactions took place before I was appointed superintendent, and are reported for the information of the Department and the explanation of the parties. Agent Wozencraft is here, and the holders of the Johnson drafts also.

I now turn to the condition of the Indians in California, and the necessity of doing something for their relief and protection. Their condition it truly deplorable. Driven from their hunting and fishing grounds, in danger of starving, many of them made to work entirely without compensation, and continual massacres going on. To give an account of all these is impossible, and I shall chiefly have recourse to official reports heretofore made as a sample of what is done, and to show the necessity of relieving them. And first, I give an instance of this new mode of oppression to the Indians, of catching them like cattle and making them work, and turning them out to starve and die when the work-season was over. It relates to a scene of which there are many instances, and the knowledge of which coming to me from report, I sent out a reliable person to attend to the case. It must be added that these oppressed Indians, while actually starving to death, were only fifteen miles from San Francisco, surrounded by settlers and their stock, and took nothing. The indictment spoken of I consider as ending in nothing.

Copy of a letter from J. H. Jenkins to Superintendent Beale, dated San Francisco, January 13, 1853.

"I have the honor of informing you that, in obedience to your letter of instructions of date December 8, 1852, I went over to the San Pablo rancho, in Contra Costa county, to investigate the matter of alleged cruel treatment of Indians there. I found seventy-eight on this rancho, and twelve back of Martinez, and they were there most of them sick, all without clothes, or any food but the fruit of the buckeye. Up to the time of my coming, eighteen had died of starvation at one camp; how many at the other I could not learn. These Indians were brought into this country from some place near Clear Lake by Californians, named Ramon Briones, Ramon Mesa, José M. Quiera, José Francisco, and Juan Beryessa, who have for some time made it a business of catching, and in various ways disposing of them, and I have been informed that many Indians have been murdered in these expeditions. These present Indians are the survivors of a band who were worked all last summer and fall, and as the winter set in, when broken down by hunger and labor, without food or clothes, they were turned adrift to shift for themselves, as best they could. Your timely interference in behalf of these unfortunate people has saved the lives of most of them, for Indians could not have lived through such weather as we have had, without any food, clothing, or shelter.

"I distributed all the well among families around, who are to feed, clothe, and protect them till your further orders. I have made provisions for the sick to be fed. I am happy to inform you, to show the good character of these Indians, that even when starving, and surrounded with horses and cattle, yet I heard no complaint of their stealing. These people could easily be made to support themselves, and their condition changed for the better. The grand jury of the county has found bills against these men, and I presume their trial will come on next term."

[TO BE CONCLUDED IN OUR NEXT.]

POLITICS OF EUROPE.

BY CHARLES REEMELIN.

Emigration.—The commandment given by God to Noah and his sons, to be "fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth," has more than any other divine commandment been followed by the human family. Nation after nation has been the parent beehive, from whence the earth has been replenished with human beings, and each country emigrated into has in turn become wealthy, prosperous, free, and great; while every country *emigrated from*, has gradually ceased to grow.

This truth history teaches on every page; and from its earliest records to the present, the lesson is ever the same. Historians have given us all kinds of reasons for the cause why the empire of the world has shifted from nation to nation, and from one continent to another. Some have found it in wealth, others in a high state of civilization, some again in personal prowess, others again in commerce, some in race, others in climate; some in civil institutions, others in religion; but all seem to have overlooked the primary cause of national prosperity—*population.* Why overlook the ever present significant fact, that the travelling character of empire has for its cause the true political axiom; that the empire *over* man has travelled *with* man; and whichever way the surplus population of the world tended, in the same direction, empire, wealth, and human genius, has travelled. It has passed into a proverb, that—

"Westward the Star of Empire wends its way."

Why? Because westward is the present tendency of the world's population.

This political truth, which explains more facts in history than any other truth, is of the utmost importance in forming a correct judgment of the political economy of Europe. The empire of the world, which is as yet concentrated in Europe, must leave it if emigration continues much longer, and those nations will sink the fastest from which the largest emigration takes place. The North American continent is the principal recipient of this migrating population, and with it must come to it national greatness, and a preponderating influence over human affairs.

Before, however, we apply our axiom, it is proper to examine whether history teaches any such lesson.

Egypt was great and all-powerful; it permitted the Jews to migrate, and kept supplying Northern and Eastern Africa with populations; its wise men and its energetic and enterprising men migrated, and she fell.

Greece reached, in literature and in arms, the highest pinnacle; it gave its mythology, its laws, its arts, and its genius, to other lands; it planted colonies in Sicily and Italy, and it fell.

The Phœnicians, the masters of the world's commerce, swarmed forth one new settlement after another; they carried to the remotest distances the arts and the civilization of a commercial people; but they carried away from home the human blood upon which that commerce rested; they created rivals, and they fell.

Sidon and Tyre, too, shared the same fate.

Asia Minor has always sent forth population after population. Troy's fall was sung by Homer. He sung the fall of the parent stock under the strokes of its own progeny.

Carthage would not be satisfied at home, and having, like Phœnicia of old, handed the arts of trade and naval knowledge to its colonies, it fell from a want of vitality at home, and from the hands of the Roman, who had not yet spread himself beyond this early home.

Rome, too, reached the teeming point of its greatness when the extension of Roman jurisdiction, of Roman languages, and of Roman literature was the object of its Pompey, its Cæsar, and its Cicero. Rome built splendid roads to enable its population to migrate; it did migrate, and with it migrated Rome's power over the world.

Asia has never recovered from that great emigration which sent the Goths to Spain, the Lombards to Italy, the Huns to France, and then back to Hungary; and from which emigration Europe received new life-blood bodily, while the emigrants found the wisdom of ages ready to meet them, and ultimately to civilize and to conquer them. The Asiatics became barbarians; their physical strength conquered Europe, but Europe's Christianity and Europe's law conquered them at last. And as we come down to our own times, the same significant facts strike us on every page.

Columbus found, for Spain, America. America brought to Spain gold and power; but it took from it its enterprising population. Under this process, Spain, that had already drove away from her a large and wealthy population, the Moors, sunk gradually in power, until now she is not equal in power to some of her former provinces. That proud nation, whose infantry was once the terror in many a battle, has sunk so low that it has to ask France and England to guaranty it the last remnant of its former greatness—the Island of Cuba.

France, too, furnished an example how a nation may be virtually injured by driving away a part of its population. France has exiled her Huguenots, and it drove them to Flanders, to Germany, and to England. With them migrated those very elements of prosperity and of greatness which France needs now, and has ever needed.

The Normans, too, that race of heroes on land and sea, they spread too much to retain any power at home.

The Danish history, too, in former times, proves my proposition; and Holland even now is lingering in a gradual decline from the same cause. The Cape of Good Hope and its East India possessions have received Holland's real basis for greatness—its men.

I could multiply example after example, for, as stated in the outset, history points with its significant finger to the migratory character of man, and to his unchanged devotion to God's commandment, "to replenish the earth," as the great cause of the rise and fall of empires. But the history of our own times is still more pointed in teaching this lesson.

Ireland—what has its population been, but exiles on its own soil? England's dominion has driven, and is still driving, Ireland's people from home. Canada and the United States receive this population—and as Ireland sinks, America rises.

England, too. What is now drawing her down hill but her colonies? She has in a great part peopled North America, and she is still hourly and weekly sending away its population to East India, New Holland, and to this country. That emigration is the cancer which gnaws England's greatness, and as the children she has driven and is driving abroad grow to greatness in foreign climes, the mother country sinks. We see it, and England begins to see it when it is too late.

The sons of my own native land, too, Germany, are forced away from their native soil. In every part of the world do we find, not German colonies, but German settlements and German homes. Go where you will, and you will find Germans. From the plains of Southern Russia to the Western prairies of America; from the St. Lawrence to Texas; in Mexico; in South America; in East India; in Algiers; on the Cape of Good Hope—everywhere Germans are to be found, carrying there with them their native industry, perseverance, and ingenuity. But, while every other nation has migrated with a view of increasing power at home, it is not so with the German. Germany has no foreign possessions, no colonies; and while German genius has been forced from home, and there has given to the world its inventions and its knowledge, the parent stock has never received any direct benefit. The German emigrates individually, not nationally. For him there is a home in every part of the world, and no nation except the German deserves the doubtful compliment of his being "*the citizen of the world.*"

And what has deprived Germany of its due importance, commerce, and power, but this self-emigration, by which its best mechanics and its best farmers, as well as the genius of her learned men, have been secured to other lands?

Need I multiply further evidence to prove the axiom I started out with? If I did, I would come right home to our doors, and ask the reader to explain to me why Ohio has outstripped her mother, Virginia, or why New York, Pennsylvania, and the young Western States, are rising in wealth and power. I would point to migrating Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, as the *living* proof of the *deadening influences* of a continued emigration. 'Twas not, as Rhett would have it, Northern aggression, but the stoppage of the slave trade, which has made the South linger behind the North. The North is growing because it is immigrated into by hundred thousands annually—an emigration which throws into the shade the great Asiatic emigration; and the South is lingering, because the only immigration of consequence it has had for a long period is declared piracy. Let the South change its industry, so that white free men may immigrate, for a black immigration is now neither possible nor desirable, and her course will again be onward.

Southern statesmen are surely wrong in seeking *outlets* for her present population. They need addition, and not subtraction. And the emigration from the North to California would soon teach us the same lesson, if the places of those who go were not readily filled up by an immigration from Europe and the East. The continued return, too, of the "gold hunters," "*blessed in store,*" prevents us from realizing it.

The State of Maine, however, is the most significant example. That State is continually losing its men at sea, and in emigration, and an increase of the female over the male sex is the consequence. Maine is now trying to draw immigration there by liberal land laws, and by making its territory the highway for English and Irish emigration to Canada. That, and that alone, can keep that State in anything like a comparative strength with her sister States.

But I will not add further illustrations, but return to the subject under consideration. Can any one doubt the result of that strange but significant fact in Europe's history—the emigration of its youth and its enterprising men? Can any one be blind enough not to perceive in the exile of the "revolutionary material," a material so gladly parted with by Europe's princes and Europe's blinded political economists, the death-rattle of Europe's vital power, in labor, in ingenuity, in science, and in its political existence?

The statesmen of western Europe, as well as its whole people, favor emigration, thinking that relief can come only by emigration. Temporary relief does come through it, as bleeding relieves certain diseases. But the relief is no cure; the relief becomes itself a disease!

The master mechanics rejoice at the departure of the young mechanics, since it secures them against competition, and they continue in the old routine of their handicraft. What must follow, but a falling behind in mechanic art? for to stand still is to fall behind.

These young mechanics go to America. Their knowledge is added to that of their brother mechanics here. They find a free field, and their ingenuity is excited, and they go ahead, improving their taste and their physical condition.

Again, the young men in Europe are revolutionary. The Government fears them, represses them if they can—and if not, exiles them. What follows? Society is relieved of its disturbing elements, quiet follows, the Government proceeds in the old road, and feels no refreshing or reforming impulse.

So in literature, and every part of society. The labor of the country, the active part of it, wanders forth, and stability follows—stability, fixedness—the arch enemy of all human greatness, and of all proper health of the body politic. Look at Europe, emigrating Europe, and tell me whether stagnation is not the evident result of the loss of its population.

Look, however, on America, and see how that same immigration quickens everywhere the trade, the industry, the genius, the wealth, and the rapid growth of the people.

I may be asked whether I would advise the passage of laws in Europe, so as to prevent and repress emigration. I answer, no! I would neither obstruct it nor favor it. I would do justice to the people of Europe, I would use any and all honest means to create comforts and sustenance for the populations there. The public lands there, which now serve as Deer Parks and Horse Nurseries to the princes, I would give to the poor. I would set European industry free. In short, I would use all proper means to find room and employment for all the population there, and then there would be but little emigration.

As a German and a European, I weep over the folly of their statesmen, who drive the life-blood of Europe across the Atlantic. As an American, however, I rejoice. Every exile is an addition to our wealth, every emigrant is a step upwards in national greatness. They bring the most valuable of all things on earth—creative arms and active minds. They come here by a plain direction of divine Providence. That direction I would not, if I could, counteract. I fear from it Europe's gradual decline, and I hope from it the greatness of my adopted country, in science, in power, and in human happiness.

Is it extravagant to hope, too, that when wandering man shall find no further *West* to go to, that the tide will then turn, and that then the East and the West will be replenished of that bodily and mental comfort which migration is bringing us? Europe sends us her people. Let us send back to it the renovating principles of free trade, free thought, and free labor.

Our statesmen here, too, are generally not appreciating the advantages of a continued access to our population. They welcome European capital, but the emigrating European arms, heads, and hearts, they fear.

What folly! European capital lives from us, and is so far an impediment and a destructive cause of *our* real capital. We owe Europe two hundred millions, which cost us twelve millions annually; and these, and not the tariff, derange our exchanges.

The 300,000 emigrants are at once an addition to our productive power, and they at once create through their labor the real and permanent capital of this country.

Do not, then, frown on the ragged and dirty immigrant! He is but carrying out God's injunction to man, to wander forth, and to be fruitful, to multiply, and to replenish the earth. In those "*beggars*" lies America's future greatness!

NICHOLS' JOURNAL
OF
HEALTH, WATER-CURE, & HUMAN PROGRESS.
A MONTHLY PERIODICAL,
Devoted to Individual and Social Health, Education, and Happiness.

By T. L. Nichols, M. D., and Mrs. Mary S. Gove Nichols, Principals of the American Hydropathic Institute.

NICHOLS' JOURNAL will be published on the first of each month, beginning with April, 1853; a handsome quarto of eight pages, the same size as the *Water Cure* and *Phrenological Journals.* Each number will be illustrated with valuable engravings, and will contain the best articles on Health, Medical Reform, Popular Physiology, Education, Science, Art, Literature, Manners, and Society, that we can write or procure.

The object of this paper is to give to the great cause of Human Progress, and especially to the Health Reform, which must be the material basis of all true reformation, an Organ, which shall be, so far as our abilities and ample means can make it—

The Best Reform Paper in the World!

The cause of Humanity seems also to demand of us, that, at whatever cost, it be also made—

The Cheapest Paper in the World!!

And by doing this, with the co-operative efforts of all enlightened friends of human development, we are certain to obtain for it—

The Largest Circulation in the World!!!

With these objects in view, and, as we believe, the means at hand for their accomplishment, we offer our Journal on the following—

UNEXAMPLED TERMS:

One copy, one year,	25 cents
Five copies, one dollar, or	20 "
Twelve copies, two dollars, or	16⅔ "
Twenty copies, three dollars, or	15 "
Forty copies, five dollars, or	12½ "
One hundred copies, ten dollars, or	10

All clubs to be sent to one address.

PREMIUMS.

While we rely upon the desire to do good, as the chief motive to all exertion; and while the consciousness of having benefited humanity must be the great and sufficient reward, we propose to send, as a testimonial, to the "getter up" of every club—

Of 5, Dr. Nichols' "Introduction to Water Cure," price 12½ cents.

Of 12, Mrs. Nichols' "Experience in Water Cure," 25 cents.

Of 20, Dr. Nichols' "Woman in all Ages and Nations," 50 cents.

Of 40, Dr. Nichols' "Esoteric Anthropology," $1.

Of 100, "Esoteric Anthropology," and S. P. Andrews' "Science of Society," each $1, or the others to the same amount.

The postage on Nichols' Journal, paid quarterly in advance, will be, in the State of New York, eight cents a year; in all other States, six cents a year.

Address, as soon as possible, with name, post office, county, and State, enclosing postage stamps, silver, gold, or good bank notes, prepaid,

T. L. NICHOLS, M. D.,
Port Chester, N. Y., (near N. Y. city.)
Feb. 17—4t

A. M. GANGEWER,
Attorney and Agent, Washington City, D. C.,
ATTENDS to claims for Pensions, Bounty Land, Extra Pay, and Arrearages of Pay, and the settlement of Accounts before the several Departments of the Government.
References.—Hon. S. P. Chase, Ohio; Hon. D. Wilmot, Pennsylvania; Hon. O. Cole, Wisconsin; Hon. Ellis Lewis, Lancaster, Pennsylvania; Gen. Edward Armor, Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Dr. G. Bailey, Editor National Era; and the accounting officers generally. June 5—6m

To Hardware Merchants and Agriculturists.
PECKHAM'S DOUBLE-POINTED POLISHED STEEL CULTIVATOR TEETH.
WE are now manufacturing by machinery, from the very best materials, a large quantity of these teeth. They are made so that when one end is worn dull, they can be *reversed*—thus getting double wear of the common teeth. They are renewed for less than half the expense of other teeth, as the standard remains constantly good.
We sold several thousand of these teeth the past season, and there is but one opinion expressed in relation to them; and that is, they are the best and most durable cultivator teeth ever sold in this country.
We also manufacture the *wood-work* of the cultivator, from the best white oak timber, with wheels. We could give a long list of recommendations, but will give one that is official.
Report of the Committee on Hardware and Agricultural Implements at the Mechanics' Fair, Utica, New York, February, 1853.
No. 21—by J. S. & M. Peckham—one lot of Cultivator Teeth. It gives your Committee great pleasure to recommend a *first premium* (a silver medal) for these highly finished double-pointed cultivator teeth. They are not only well made, but are a great improvement over other teeth. The arrangement for attaching teeth to the cultivator is also a great improvement.
G. SANGER, Hardware Merchant
MORGAN BUTLER, Farmer } *Committee.*
W. D. HAMLIN, Wagon Maker
We offer them to merchants and others, at *wholesale*, at very low prices. Orders for samples of one or more sets will be forwarded to any part of the United States. Weight of one set, (five teeth,) 25 pounds.
J. S. & M. PECKHAM,
March 17—2t Utica, New York.

FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE OF PENNSYLVANIA.
Fourth Annual Session.
THE next session of this institution will commence on September 1st, 1853, and close on the 31st of January, 1854.
The session has been lengthened from four and a half to five months. This has been done in consequence of a determination, on the part of the Faculty, to render the course of instruction given by them as thorough and complete as that given in any Medical College in the country.
Persons wishing copies of the Announcement, or desirous of further information, will please apply, personally or by letter, to the Dean of the Faculty,
DAVID J. JOHNSON, M. D.,
March 17—tf 229 Arch st., Philadelphia.

SPIRITUAL RAPPINGS.
DR. E. C. ROGERS has completed, and now offers to the reading public, his great work on
The Philosophy of Mysterious Agents, Human and Mundane.
Complete in one volume. Price, one dollar.
This is, without doubt, the first and only work which has ever appeared, in which this whole matter is thoroughly and philosophically explained, and so clearly as to amount to a demonstration.
The following, from the editor of *Zion's Herald*, is a fair sample of the unqualified notices from intelligent editors who have read the work:
"*Philosophy of Mysterious Agents, No.* 3.—This number concludes Mr. Rogers's book, which, now that it is finished, forms the only satisfactory and philosophical discussion of the spirit rapping theory as yet published. To us, its reasonings appear conclusive and unanswerable. It solves the question forever, so far as the relation of disembodied spirits to the production of those mysterious phenomena, called spiritual manifestations, is concerned. He who reads it will certainly see that *human* and *mundane* influences are all-sufficient for the production of every species of phenomena yet observed. We earnestly recommend it as a valuable, timely, philosophical, and successful answer to the doctrines of the spirit rappers."
Published by JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., Boston; JEWETT, PROCTOR, & WORTHINGTON, Cleveland Ohio; and for sale by Booksellers generally.
March 17—4t

Will be Published during the Month of March,
THE WORKS OF
HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
EDITED BY GEORGE E. BAKER.
Three Volumes Octavo. Price—$2.50 per Vol.
IT has been well said that there is no living American statesman whose works embody so much that will fix and reward the attention of the student, the statesman, and the philanthropist, as those of Governor Seward. To the general reader—to those who wish to know who and what Governor Seward is, and especially to all who desire to obtain a complete history of the State of New York for the last quarter of a century—these volumes will be of the highest interest.
Popular Education in all its phases; Internal Improvements, embracing the entire history of the origin, completion, and proposed enlargement of the Erie canal, and of the New York and Erie and other railroads; Slavery, its rights and prerogatives, the duties and obligations of the free States in regard to it; the Public Land Question, with a history and discussion of the Anti-Rent troubles in this State; Crime and its penalties, including a review of several of the most exciting criminal cases that have ever occurred in our State; Political Economy, in its adaptation to our national condition, &c., &c., have all been discussed with a freedom, vigor, and clearness, seldom if ever equalled.
All the great questions which now agitate the public mind—the Fugitive Slave Law, the Annexation of Cuba, the Maintenance of the National Honor, the Protection of American Rights, &c., &c., are all so treated as to shed light upon the discussions of the day, and afford information to all who wish to understand or discuss them.
Governor Seward's Correspondence, much of it having been written with no thought of publication, will be found particularly interesting and instructive, illustrating as it does the warmth with which he holds many of his peculiar opinions.
The Notes on New York, which occupy nearly two hundred pages of the second volume, form a complete history of the State from its first settlement to the commencement of his administration. His record of the proceedings to form the different Constitutions of the State, as well as of the struggles and triumphs of the great Canal enterprise in the Legislature, is exceedingly valuable. These Notes may be compared, not unfavorably, with those of Jefferson on Virginia.
For vigor and beauty of style, we are confident these volumes will be deemed a valuable acquisition to the best specimens of American eloquence.
In the execution of the mechanical portion of the work, it is the intention of the Publisher that nothing shall be left to be desired.
A fine portrait of Governor Seward will be prefixed to the first volume; an engraving of his birthplace, in Florida, N. Y., to the second volume; and one of his present residence, at Auburn, N. Y., to the third volume—engraved in the best style of the art.
J. S. REDFIELD, Publisher,
110 and 112 Nassau street, New York.
Contents of Vol. I.—Biographical Memoir. Speeches and Debates in Senate of New York. Speeches and Debates in Senate of United States: Freedom in the New Territories—in District of Columbia—in New Mexico—in Europe; French Spoliations; Kossuth; Exiles of Ireland; American Steam Navigation; Survey of Arctic and Pacific Oceans; The Fisheries; Father Mathew; Sir John Franklin; Amin Bey; New York Mint; Peon Slavery; the Public Lands; Internal Improvements; Fugitive Slave Law; Catlin's Indian Gallery, &c. Forensic Arguments: The Freedom of the Press, Cooper *vs.* Greeley; Defence of William Freeman; Patent Cases; Fugitive Slave Law, &c., &c.
Contents of Vol. II.—Notes on New York. Annual Messages to the Legislature—1839, 1840, 1841, 1842; Internal Improvements; Enlargement of Canal; Railroads; Education; Immigration; Legal Reform; The Currency; Free Banking; Prison Discipline; Anti-Rent Troubles, &c., &c. Special Messages: Virginia Slave Case; Georgia do.; McLeod Case; Suppressed Veto Message of New York Registry Law, &c., &c. Official Correspondence: Virginia Controversy; McLeod do.; Letters to Gen. Harrison, Daniel Webster, John Quincy Adams, &c., &c. Pardon Papers: Case of Thomas Topping, John C. Colt, Benjamin Rathbun, &c., &c.
Contents of Vol. III.—Orations and Discourses: Eulogy on Lafayette, 1834—on Henry Clay—on Daniel Webster—on A. H. Buell; Oration on Daniel O'Connell; Oration on John Quincy Adams, &c., &c. Occasional Speeches and Addresses: The Union, 1825; For Greece, 1827; Sunday Schools, 1839; Cleveland Speech, 1848; Internal Improvements, &c., &c. Political Writings: Addresses of Political Conventions, &c., 1824, 1831, 1832, 1834, 1837, 1844, &c., &c. General Correspondence: Letters from Europe.
Feb. 24—6t

PROSPECTUS OF THE SPIRITUAL BEACON
THE number of earnest and intelligent minds at present deeply interested in the wonderful Spiritual Manifestations of the times, demands the publication of a central journal, for these purposes:
1st. To promote the free interchange, between Spiritualists, of individual ideas and personal experiences.
2d. To promote harmony of faith and unity of action in the great work to which they are called.
3d. For their defence against the calumnies and denunciations of skepticism and ignorance.
4th. For the dissemination of the evidences and the truths of the new revelation.
With these great objects in view, we will commence, on the *first Thursday of March*, 1853, the publication of a weekly newspaper, to be called
The Spiritual Beacon.
It will be edited on the broad platform of toleration and free inquiry, by a committee of gentlemen and ladies well qualified for the task. The reader will be kept well posted in all the spiritual developments of the day, occurring in this or other quarters of the world. Each number of the *Beacon* will contain a large amount of entertaining and instructive miscellany, not found in any other periodical. The size of the paper will be "double medium," much larger than any Spiritual paper now published.
Terms.—The *Beacon* will be furnished to single subscribers, at $2 per annum, or $1 for six months—invariably in advance. Twelve copies will be sent to one address for $20 per annum, and twenty copies for $30.
☞ Will not the friends of the cause send in their names immediately? Address
CHARLES E. KING, Publisher,
141 Main st., Cincinnati, over Dorby's Bookstore.
Feb. 17.

TO MILL OWNERS AND MILL BUILDERS, &c.
AN experienced millwright and practical mechanic, who has built mills of various descriptions, to be driven by steam or water power, would like to receive propositions in the above line, or he would engage to do repairs, &c., for some corporation, where he can have steady employment. Certificates of character and workmanship will be furnished. For further particulars, address *Memoranda*, care of G. Bailey, Washington, D. C.
Platform scales built to order. Jan. 6—6t

ORMSBEE'S MINIATURE HOUSE,
203 *Washington, corner of Bromfield street, Boston.*
PATENT
DAGUERREOTYPES, PHOTOTYPES, CABOTYPES—
June 3—1y *Largest in the World*

"BE DAYS OF DRINKING WINE FORGOT."
WILLSON'S *Temperance House and Botanic Medicine Store.* By Dr. J. T. WILLSON. Commodious stabling and tame hay. East end of Main street, Jackson, Michigan, fifty rods east of the Railroad Depot. Dec. 9

CLEVELAND WATER CURE ESTABLISHMENT.
THE above Establishment continues in successful operation during the winter as well as summer—cures in the great majority of cases progressing more rapidly in the cool than in the warm season.
The constantly increasing patronage which a generous public has bestowed upon the institution, induces the subscriber to believe that the facilities, attention, and experience, which the invalid receives here, afford opportunities unsurpassed by any other establishment, for the *speedy* restoration of health.
The great success which has attended the Institution in the treatment of diseases peculiar to females, particularly those which incapacitate them from walking, totally or partially, without great suffering, induces the subscriber to say to all those who are afflicted, that the *rapidity and permanency* of the cures are second to none.
T. T. SEELYE, M. D., Proprietor.
Cleveland Water Cure, Jan. 1, 1853. Jan. 6—10t

TO THE TRAVELLING PUBLIC.
THE MADISON HOUSE, located on Main street, between Front and Columbia, CINCINNATI, has been much enlarged during the past summer, and is now open to entertain its former patrons and a portion of the travelling public.
Merchants, traders, and others visiting the city, will find the Madison House well located, accommodations good, and prices moderate. J. W. GARRISON & CO.,
Nov. 4—3m Proprietors.

MINING AGENCY,
New York, 62 William street, Room No. 12.
THIS Agency is established for the purchase and sale, on commission, of unimproved mines and mining stocks in companies organized and at work. Also, for furnishing all kinds of machinery and mining tools, as ordered. Also, the chemical analysis of ores and other substances, as forwarded from any part of the country. A printed circular, giving full explanations, will be sent in answer to any post paid letter, enclosing one three cent post office stamp.
Dec 30—1y J. R. BARBOUR & CO.

REAL ESTATE AND PROPERTY REGISTRATION OFFICE.
THE undersigned have opened an Office for the Registration of Real Estate and other property, negotiating Sales, Loans, Exchanges, raising of Companies, &c., throughout the different States; and are appointing local agents in all the different counties.
Applications are entered in the Register, and placed on the files designated for their locality, open to the examination of all, free of charge, and must be accompanied with a Registration Fee of $1, the receipt of which will be acknowledged. Commissions on Sales, Exchanges, &c., two per cent.; and other matters, requiring special negotiation, subject to special agreement.
As the Agency does not propose to sell, but negotiate and send purchasers to the owners, no special authority is requisite; but when a sale by the Agency is desired, authority must be given.
The business of the Agency is published extensively through the Press and by Circulars, in all parts of this country, and in Europe, where we expect one of our firm will for the present reside, and where also we shall have agents in the principal ports of embarkation; and special efforts are made to induce Capitalists, Immigrants and others, to examine the Register and Files of the Agency.
BRONSON, KNAPP, & CO., Real Estate and Property Brokers, No. 116 Broadway, N. Y.
Refer to Courtlandt Palmer, Esq., No. 177 Broadway, New York; Hon. Alwin Bronson, Oswego, N. Y.; Gov. Wood, and ex Gov. Ford, Ohio; Hon. R. W. Thompson, Ind.; Hon. D. A. Noble and Hon. J. R. Williams, Mich.; Hon. Robert Smith, Ill.; Hon. J. R. Underwood, Ky.; Hon. A. C. Dodge, Iowa; Hon. J. D. Doty, Wis. Jan. 27—3m

MEYER'S UNIVERSUM.
Edited by Charles A. Dana.
THIS periodical, published from the first of July semi-monthly, will contain views of the most remarkable cities, public edifices, and natural scenes, in every zone, and on every continent; accompanied by letter press descriptions, which, while conveying the most accurate and trustworthy information, will seek to clothe the dry details of facts and figures with something of the vitality of nature, and to enable the reader, while he observes the historical and political phenomena, to gain some insight into the causes from which they spring. Extensive and costly preparations have been made to present in it the fullest collection of views, not only from every section of the United States, but from all parts of the Continent. For above a year past, artists have been engaged in exploring the most romantic regions of this country, Canada, and Central America, for the especial benefit of this work and its readers, and the engravers are now occupied on above a hundred views of North American scenery alone, which in due time will be laid before our subscribers, in addition to other engravings of European, Asiatic, African, and Australian, cities and landscapes, illustrated by animated and interesting articles from the most popular writers. Twelve numbers will compose a volume. Each number will contain four steel engravings, executed in a high style of art, with about twenty pages of letter-press.
We put the work at the low price of $3 the semi-annual volume, or 25 cents for a single number. All subscribers paying for vol. 1 in advance, will be entitled to receive, as a premium, the superb plate, engraved on steel, size imperial folio, "Jack in Office," after the celebrated picture of F. Landseer, engraved by G. Metzeroth.
The publisher will supply Specimen Numbers gratuitously to Agents and Postmasters, and will make liberal arrangements with them for circulating the *Universum.* He will also supply clubs of two persons at $5 half a year; of five persons at $10; and of a larger number at the same rates.
HERMANN J. MEYER,
July 29. No. 164 William street, New York.
OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.
We think the work will commend itself to the popular taste in this country, and find an extensive circulation.—*New York Tribune.*
It promises to be one of the cheapest, as well as one of the most valuable publications of the day.—*New York Evening Post.*
It will be one of the most popular illustrated works of the day.—*Boston Transcript.*
It will form one of the most beautiful and instructive works.—*Detroit Advertiser.*
An admirable work of art, and worthy of universal patronage.—*Montgomery Journal.*
One of the cheapest as well as most valuable publications of the day.—*Northern Citizen.*
The plan of this work is a good one, and deserves the patronage of every good friend of the arts.—*Boston Courier.*
It is as cheap as it is superbly excellent.—*Springfield Republican.*
One of the most useful and beautiful works ever issued from the American press.—*Union Democrat.*

STAMMERING CURED—ELOCUTION TAUGHT.
DR. COMSTOCK'S *Vocal Gymnasium*, Philadelphia, which has been in successful operation for more than twenty years, is designed for the Promotion of Health, the Cure of Stammering, and the Correction of Lisping and other Defective Articulation, as well as for improvement in Elocution. Address A. COMSTOCK, M. D.,
No. 102 Mulberry street, Philadelphia.
PHONETIC WORKS.
Dr. COMSTOCK is the author of the *American Phonetic Alphabet*, the only *perfect* alphabet that has been given to the world, because it is the only alphabet that has a distinct letter for every articulate sound, and signs for accent, inflection, and intonation. Dr. C. has published, in this alphabet, his *System of Elocution*, $1; the *New Testament*, $1.25; the first book of *Pope's Homer's Iliad*, with copious notes, 50 cents; *My Little Geography*, 25 cents; and a number of other works. Aug. 12.

AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL,
FOR THE CURE OF
COUGHS, COLDS, HOARSENESS, BRONCHITIS, WHOOPING-COUGH, CROUP, ASTHMA, AND CONSUMPTION.
TO cure a cold, with headache and soreness of the body, take the Cherry Pectoral on going to bed, and wrap up warm, to sweat during the night.
For a cold and cough, take it morning, noon, and evening, according to directions on the bottle, and the difficulty will soon be removed. None will long suffer from this trouble, when they find it can be so readily cured. Persons afflicted with a seated cough, which breaks them of their rest at night, will find, by taking the Cherry Pectoral on going to bed, they may be sure of sound, unbroken sleep, and consequently refreshing rest. Great relief from suffering, and an ultimate cure, is afforded to thousands who are thus afflicted, by this invaluable remedy.
From its agreeable effect in these cases, many find themselves unwilling to forego its use when the necessity for it has ceased.
From two eminent Physicians in Fayetteville, Tenn.
FAYETTEVILLE, TENN., *April* 16, 1851.
SIR: We have given your Cherry Pectoral an extensive trial in our practice, and find it to surpass every other remedy we have for curing affections of the respiratory organs.
DRS. DIEMER & HAMPTON.
To singers and public speakers this remedy is invaluable, as by its action on the throat and lungs, when taken in small quantities, it removes all hoarseness in a few hours, and wonderfully increases the power and flexibility of the voice.
Asthma is generally much relieved, and often wholly cured, by Cherry Pectoral. But there are some cases so obstinate as to yield entirely to no medicine. Cherry Pectoral will cure them, if they can be cured.
Bronchitis, or irritation of the throat and upper portion of the lungs, may be cured by taking Cherry Pectoral in small and frequent doses. The uncomfortable oppression is soon relieved.
Rev. Dr. Lansing, of Brooklyn, New York, states:
"I have seen the Cherry Pectoral cure such cases of asthma and bronchitis as leads me to believe it can rarely fail to cure those diseases."
For croup, give an emetic of antimony, to be followed by large and frequent doses of the Cherry Pectoral, until it subdues the disease. If taken in season, it will not fail to cure.
Whooping cough may be broken up and soon cured by the use of Cherry Pectoral.
The influenza is speedily removed by this remedy. Numerous instances have been noticed where whole families were protected from any serious consequences, while their neighbors, without the Cherry Pectoral, were suffering from the disease.
SALEM, OHIO, *June* 11, 1851.
I write to inform you of the truly remarkable effects of your Cherry Pectoral in this place and in my own family. One of my daughters was completely cured in three days of a dreadful whooping cough, by taking it. Dr. Means, one of our very best physicians, freely states that he considers it the best remedy we have for pulmonary diseases, and that he has cured more cases of croup with it than any other medicine he ever administered.
Our clergyman of the Baptist church says that during the run of influenza here this season, he has seen cures from your medicine he could scarcely have believed without seeing. Yours, respectfully,
J. D. SINCLAIR, *Deputy Postmaster.*
Dr. J. C. AYER.
From the distinguished Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica, Bowdoin College.
BRUNSWICK, ME., *February* 5, 1847.
I have found the Cherry Pectoral, as its ingredients show, a powerful remedy for colds, and coughs, and pulmonary diseases. PARKER CLEVELAND, M. D.
Dr. Valentine Mott the widely celebrated Professor of Surgery in the Medical College, New York city, says:
"It gives me pleasure to certify the value and efficacy of Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, which I consider peculiarly adapted to cure diseases of the throat and lungs."
Cures of severe diseases upon the lungs have been effected by Cherry Pectoral, in such extreme cases as warrant the belief that a remedy has at length been found, that can be depended on to cure the coughs, colds, and consumption, which carry from our midst thousands every year. It is indeed a medicine to which the afflicted can look with confidence for relief, and they should not fail to avail themselves of it.
Prepared and sold by JAMES C. AYER, Practical and Analytical Chemist, Lowell, Mass., and sold by Druggists and Apothecaries everywhere. Jan. 13

S. M. PETTENGILL & CO.,
NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING AGENTS, are the agents for the *National Era*, and are authorised to receive advertisements and subscriptions for us at the lowest rates. Their receipts are regarded as payments. Their offices are at New York, 122 Nassau street.
June 24. Boston, 10 State street.